

CHARLES E. BIDWELL

# The Structure of Russian in Outline

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To my wife,  
**Natascha Bidwell,**  
**née Dragutinović**



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# Preface

Reference grammars of Russian abound, both in Russian and in English or other Western languages. Further, there is a vast amount of periodical and monographic literature treating one or another aspect or segment of Russian grammar from the point of view of the various schools of structural linguistics. There has never appeared, however, a consistent and comprehensive structural treatment of Russian grammar, at least in the sense that this is understood in the American descriptivist tradition. I hope that the present structural sketch may at least partially fill this gap and serve American students as a structurally oriented reference grammar and as a text for courses in the structure of the Russian language.

The basic research underlying this work was to a considerable extent accomplished by me in connection with a project involving the preparation of Russian teaching materials (published as *Modern Russian*, Vol. I, 1964, Vol. II, 1965, by Harcourt, Brace and World), sponsored by the United States Office of Education. Certain sections of this work represent revisions of materials originally prepared to be part of a projected grammatical appendix, but never actually used. The materials of the present volume have been tested and subjected to further revision in my course, "Russian as a Linguistic Structure," at the University of Pittsburgh. As presented in my classes, the materials were issued as pre-prints, not for general distribution, under the titles *An Outline of Russian Morphology* and *An Outline of Russian Syntax* (Pittsburgh, 1962 and 1963 respectively).

The present work, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts. The first, "The Sound System," gives an outline of Russian phonology and morphophonemics. Since a number of treatments of Russian phonetics and phonemics are readily available, this chapter does

not go into great detail in phonetic description or give extensive lists of phonemic contrasts (except in connection with such controversial matters as the status of [i] and [ɨ] or of the palatalized velars, where I support my solution with example contrasts), nor do I give an exhaustive treatment of morphophonemics, but list only those alternations which are widespread in the morphology and necessary to a discussion thereof. It goes without saying that the language is here treated as primarily and basically a spoken phenomenon and that the grammatical description is based solidly on the spoken forms. Equally obvious, of course, is the fact that in dealing with a language with a long written tradition, such as Russian, one cannot ignore the writing system, particularly as example words in further discussion are usually cited in conventional orthography. Pedagogical considerations have dictated the unconventional expedient of inserting the discussion of the correspondence of the writing system to the spoken language between discussion of automatic and non-automatic morphophonemic change (because automatic changes are typically not represented in conventional spelling, while non-automatic changes usually are).

The phonemic analysis and the morphophonemic notation based upon it is that presented in my article in *SEEJ* (cited below). While I believe that my alternative analysis is well justified by the linguistic facts, I recognize that many colleagues, particularly the more conservative-minded, will find it controversial. However, the notation I have chosen is such that my representation of consonant plus palatalization component /t<sub>s</sub>/ can be converted to a representation in traditional terms, if one simply imagines the palatalization symbol as connected with the preceding consonant and representing a palatalized phoneme /t̪/ vs. /t/. Those who prefer that analysis will find they can use my sections on morphology and syntax perfectly well in class, as well as most of the phonology and morphophonemics.

In my preprints I used a morphophonemic notation employing Cyrillic symbols, as outlined in my *SEEJ* article. Though such a notation entails certain advantages, particularly as it points up the internal logic of the Russian orthography, I found that some students were misled, despite explicit warning, into confusing speech and writing; hence, I reluctantly abandoned my Cyrillic notation and have adopted a Latin character notation for morphophonemics.

The second part, "The Form System," on the other hand, treats the morphology exhaustively. The analysis is uncompromisingly structural (thus certain items traditionally termed "pronouns" are classified with the adjectives) and presents a number of original features.

The third part, "Sentence Structure," is a fairly complete overview (within the present state of our knowledge) of Russian syntax. This chapter, which represents the application to Russian of the Harrisian type analysis I employed in my articles on the syntax of Serbo-Croatian (*Language* 41) and of Bulgarian (*Linguistics* 29 [1967]), departs most widely from previous traditional treatments of Russian syntax, and may, perhaps, lay most claim to originality.

As stated, this work is intended primarily for the use of students of Russian and Slavistics, both as a textbook or manual in a course on Russian linguistic structure and also as a reference grammar organized on strictly structural principles. It is also hoped that it may prove of value to professional linguists, particularly those who are not specialists in Slavic but who may wish to gain an overview of Russian linguistic structure. The book assumes on the part of the user a firm control of the basic concepts of modern linguistics (e.g., the phoneme, the morpheme, complementary distribution, morphophonemic change, etc.), since it is taken for granted that in this day and age anyone with a serious interest in a language or languages will have acquainted himself with at least the rudiments of structural linguistics.

The following works have been consulted in preparation of the material found in this book:

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Finally, I want to thank the many native speakers who have unwittingly or unwittingly served as linguistic informants over the years of my study of Russian as well as my teachers and senior colleagues. Here I would particularly mention George L. Trager who during my employment at the Foreign Service Institute was my mentor in the scientific study of Russian.

The entire Russian portion of the text was read by Mr. Nicholas Koehler, who suggested a number of orthographic and stylistic corrections. Any errors are, of course, not the fault of colleagues, associates, or informants, but strictly my own.



# **The Structure of Russian in Outline**



# The Sound System

## 1.1 THE BASIC SOUND UNITS (PHONEMES)

### 1.1.1 Consonants

The following consonant phonemes occur. They are listed below in terms of their phonetic characteristics (where pairs are listed under the same rubric, the first is voiceless, the second voiced).

	labial	apico-dental <sup>a</sup>	post-alveolar <sup>b</sup>	dorso-velar <sup>c</sup>
stops	p b	t d		k g
nasals <sup>d</sup>	m	n		
affricates		c	č	
spirants	f v	s z	š ž	x
-----				
lateral:	l	trill: r	glide: j	

<sup>a</sup>tip of tongue toward back surface of upper teeth; <sup>b</sup>at upper gum ridge;  
<sup>c</sup>back of tongue against soft palate; <sup>d</sup>voiced nasal stops

Of the labial sounds, /p b m/ are made with closure of both lips, while /f v/ involve approaching the back of the lower lip to the front of the upper teeth. In the latter case, the sharp deflection of the air stream against the upper lip thereby occasioned results in characteristic turbulence.

The apico-dental sounds /t d n/ are made by contacting the back surface of the upper teeth with the tongue tip; contact is thus made further forward than in the corresponding English sounds. In /c/ contact is made at about the position of English /t/. In /s z/ there is a narrow passage between tip and front of the tongue and back of upper teeth and gums respectively.

Of the post-alveolar sounds, /č/ involves contact of the front of the tongue with the upper gum ridge; /š ž/ involve contact of the tip of the tongue further back on the upper gums, the tongue flattened and slightly retracted. The voiceless stops /p t k/ do not have the aspiration (puff of air) which often occurs after the corresponding English sounds. /χ/ is similar to the German *ch* in German “ach” but with rather less friction; it is phonetically voiceless, except preceding a distinctively voiced consonant other than /v/.

/l/ is a lateral fricative, usually voiced, with mid-tongue depressed, resulting in “dull,” “hollow” sound or low tonality, something like /l/ in English “bull.” Contact is with the tip of the tongue against upper teeth or gum ridge. /r/ is an apico-alveolar trill, usually with one or two flaps of the tongue and usually voiced. /j/ is a high front glide. The forward part of the tongue is arched toward the roof of the mouth resulting in a certain tenseness and friction.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1.2 Palatalization

In addition to the foregoing consonants, there exists a palatalized counterpart to each of them except /š ž c č j/. The palatalized consonants are articulated with the tongue rather tensely arched up and forward in the mouth and with the pharyngeal passage dilated (widened). In some consonants, particularly labials, this gives the effect of a very brief [i]-like glide (distinct however from the same consonant followed by the phoneme /j/); this glide is most noticeable before /a o u/, and least noticeable before /i/. With /l/, palatalization causes the tongue to be tensely arched and contact to be made by the front of the tongue against the upper gum ridge, giving a characteristic “bright” sound or high tonality (however, Russian palatalized /l/ is not as palatal as the palatal /l'/ of Spanish, Italian, or Serbo-Croatian); in apical sounds /t d n/, palatalization causes the point of contact to be shifted backward to the front blade of the tongue and upper gum ridge; some speakers slightly assimilate palatalized /t d/, giving [t<sup>s</sup>, d<sup>z</sup>]. Likewise, the front spirants /s z/ with palatalization shift their point of articulation slightly backward; conversely, the arching forward of the tongue involved in palatalization causes the velar sounds to be articulated further forward in the mouth than is the case in the absence of palatalization.

Palatalized consonants are here analyzed as the corresponding plain consonant, plus a long component of palatalization (symbolized /, /). The palatalization component affects the consonant immediately preceding it and, subject to idiolectal (individual) varia-

tion, the consonant or consonants preceding that consonant (without intervening juncture). Dental consonants preceding a palatalized consonant are almost universally assimilated with regard to palatalization, while labials and velars tend not to be affected by the palatalization of a following consonant. The domain of the palatalization component is therefore considered to be the consonant preceding it, plus a consonant or consonants preceding that (but subject to rules excluding certain classes of phonemes) and, as we shall see, the following vowel.

The consonants /š ž c/ are never palatalized, while /č j/ are always articulated with a phonetic element of palatalization and affect neighboring phonemes as palatalized consonants. Since their palatalization is a constant concomitant, we will not symbolize it, but write /č j/ instead of non-occurrent /č, j/.<sup>2</sup> The non-palatalized consonants /b p m/ tend to be labialized (lips are rounded giving a slight w-like effect following the consonant) before the vowels /i o u/.

#### SUMMARY OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

---

##### Consonants

Palatalizable <sup>3</sup> (occur with or without ,)	Always Palatalized (occur only with ,)	Non-palatalizable (never occur with ,)
voice- less: p t k f s x	č	š c
voiced: b d g v z		ž
neutral: m n	r l	j
palatalizing component:	,	

#### 1.1.3 The vowels

Consider the following examples:

C _____	C, _____ C
[tá] та that (Nf)	[t, ák] тяг of weights
[tó] то that (NAn)	[t, ók] тёк flowed
[tú] ту that (Af)	[t, úk] тюк bale
[té] тэ the letter "t"	[t, ém] тем that (Im/n)
[t±] ты thou	[t, ík] тик tic

In the two columns above, there are five vowel sounds contrasting with each other following palatalized and non-palatalized consonants respectively. In the first four examples in each column above are the vowels [a o u e] in each environment (it is true that after a palatalized consonant, each vowel is somewhat higher or fronter than after a plain consonant).

The last example in column C \_\_\_\_ is [ɨ], a high mid unrounded vowel. The last example in column C, \_\_\_\_C is [i], a high front unrounded vowel. It would seem that we are, as in the case of the first four vowel pairs, dealing with a pair of allophones in complementary distribution. However, there are also the items [i] и ‘the letter “i”’ and [ɨ] ы ‘the letter “y”’, two items which are indubitably, for Russian speakers, distinct linguistic entities and thus in phonemic contrast. A solution would be to set up two phonemes, /ɨ/ and /i/; however, [i] and [ɨ] are very nearly in complementary distribution, contrasting only in the two items above and, for some speakers, in a few others. Another solution, which we shall adopt here, is the following: Since, in other than initial position, [i] appears only after /,/, we shall write /, i/ for [i] in initial position; [i] is therefore phonemically /, i/ and [ɨ] phonemically /i/.<sup>4</sup>

In position between two palatalized consonants (C, \_\_\_\_C,), the vowels have still higher, fronter, and tenser allophones than simply after a palatalized consonant. Thus, in /p,ít,/ пить ‘to drink’ and /p,éét,/ петь ‘to sing’, /e i/ have higher, tenser allophones; in /t,úl,/ тюль ‘tulle’ and /t,ót, ij/ тётий ‘of aunts’, /u o/ have fronted allophones; and in /p,át,/ пять ‘five’, /a/ has a fronted allophone [æ] somewhat like the /æ/ in English *cat*. In initial position, the vowel allophone occurring after a plain consonant occurs, except in the case of /i/ where /, i/ occurs as mentioned.

The foregoing contrasts exemplify vowels in stressed position. Except under exceptional conditions, only under stress do all five vowel phonemes occur.<sup>5</sup> In unstressed position only /e o/ do not occur. In a syllable immediately preceding a stressed syllable or immediately following juncture, we have [a i ɨ u] similar to the corresponding allophones under stress, except that they are shorter and frequently less tensely articulated. We assign these to /a ,i i u/ respectively. In other unstressed position we have [ə i ɨ u] all of which are laxer and less far from mid-central position than the allophones occurring in stressed or even immediate pretonic position. We assign these to /ə ,i i u/ respectively.

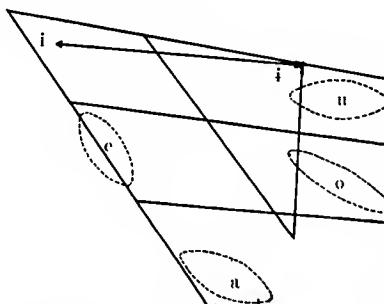
Examples:

/a/ [xərašó]	/xarašó/	хорошо	good
[gəradá]	/garadá/	города	cities
[abašól]	/abašól/	обошел	went around
[aftəmab, íl.]	/aftamab, íl./	автомобиль	automobile
[vœaružit,]	/va=aružit,/	вооружить	to arm

The morphophonemic replacements of vowels between stressed and unstressed syllables will be treated in section 1.2.5.

Russian has, then, the following vowel phonemes:

	non-rounded		rounded
high	i	[ɪ]	u
low	e	a	o
	front		non-front



*Location of the vowel allophones on the articulatory vowel triangle.*

#### 1.1.4 Suprasegmentals (prosodic phonemes)

##### 1.1.4.1 Stress. Word stress /' / occurs once only in a word.

With a few exceptions (words which usually occur without stress, such as monosyllabic prepositions, and words which occur only with secondary stress), one syllable of every word bears word stress.<sup>6</sup>

p, is, mó letter p, is, ma letters

The stressed syllable is louder (more intense) than neighboring unstressed syllables. Stress occurs on a given syllable in any form and contrasts with lack of stress in other syllables. Secondary stress /' / may occur in compound words in addition to word stress

and as the sole stress in some short words. Secondary stressed syllables, while louder than unstressed, are not as loud as stressed syllables.

górsav, ét city soviet  
 tr, óxsót three hundred  
 nò (in speech of conversational speed) but  
 škóla+, int, irnát boarding school

In compound words containing secondary and primary word stress, the sequence is always /`/. Pronouns generally have secondary stress in speech of conversational speed, replacing primary stress of deliberate style.

Major stress—one, rarely two, words have major stress in each major segment; the major stress is more intense (louder) than the word stress. When major stress occurs in a word, it falls upon the syllable which normally carries word stress. It may be regarded as an addition to, rather than a replacement of word stress. The symbol / ''/ is used to denote major stress.

1.1.4.2 *Transitional phenomena (junctures).* Minor juncture /+/ is signaled by exclusion of the occurrence of voiced consonants before it, and limitation of the domain of stress in conditioning pretonic vowel allophones, as well as by its serving as a limit to the domain of /,/. Compare the following examples,

- (1) /d, ir, évn, a+tám/ the village there  
 (2) /gavar, ít+atóm/ he's talking about that

where the /a/ before juncture (1) has the post-stress allophone [ə], while the /a/ immediately preceding stressed syllable (2) without intervening juncture has the allophone [a] characteristic of the syllable immediately preceding stress. There also may be present some slowing or stretching of the preceding segmental phonemes. An immediately preceding stressed vowel, however, is shorter than a stressed vowel usually is. There may be an additional minor juncture /=/, signaled by the fact that it serves as a barrier to the extension of the domain of /,/.

Major juncture /|/ is signaled by all of the phenomena listed for minor juncture, plus a more pronounced slowing or stretching of preceding segmental phonemes; sometimes there is a very brief pause present. This juncture may be accompanied by terminal contour /~/ or by /^/.

Examples:

/ <sup>2</sup> éta+ <sup>3</sup> p, i <sup>1</sup> tróf <sup>1</sup> ~ /	Это Петров.	That's Petrov.
/ <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> dá+ <sup>2</sup> vì+xat, it, i+, itt, i <sup>1</sup> ~ /	Куда вы хотите идти?	Where do you want to go?

/<sup>2</sup>paká+, id, <sup>1</sup>ót+  
 ^<sup>3</sup>ópit<sup>3</sup> | <sup>2</sup>tók+  
<sup>3</sup>búd, <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup> ~|/

Пока идет опыт, While the experi-  
 ток будет. ment is going on,  
 there will be  
 current.

The stretch of speech bounded at the end by // (and preceded by silence, pause or another segment bounded by //) is termed "major segment."<sup>7</sup> Division of an utterance into major segments will depend on individual speaking style and speed. A given utterance in rapid speech will be spoken in fewer major segments than the same utterance in slow deliberate speech. But the segmentation is not arbitrary—there are some places where a major segment boundary may be made and others where it will be rare or non-occurrent. For example, in normal Russian speech a major segment boundary never occurs between a preposition and the word following it and rarely between an adjective and the noun it qualifies.

1.1.4.3 *Pitch levels and contours.* There seem to be four significant pitch levels, numbered from lower to higher /<sup>1234</sup>. These levels do not represent absolute pitch levels, but levels which are relatively higher or lower than neighboring stretches of speech in a given discourse. Further, there are two contour fulcra—final drop-off and fade //~ and high rise-fall //^. //~ occurs only in conjunction with // in utterance final position, while //^ occurs either in conjunction with // in utterance final or non-final position, or alone in non-final position. Examples of //~ occur in section 1.1.4.2 above. Major segments terminating in //~|/ are the final (or sole) major segments of statements or question-word questions. Major segments containing //^ are (1) final (or sole) segments of alternative ("yes/no") questions or (2) non-final segments of both statements and questions. An example of (2) occurs in the last example sentence of the preceding section; examples of (1) follow:

/ <sup>2</sup> ví+, i <sup>3</sup> d, ^ó <sup>1</sup> t, i+ vbuf, ét <sup>1</sup>  /	Вы идете в буфет?	Are you going to the lunch counter?
---	----------------------	--

/<sup>2</sup>ti+tám+<sup>3</sup>bil^<sup>3</sup>|/      Ты там был?      You were there?

Pitch levels and fulcra combine into contours extending over the domain of the major segment and are characteristic of various types of statements and questions.

## 1.2 AUTOMATIC SOUND CHANGE

### 1.2.1 Voicing assimilation

Russian sounds are either voiced (the vocal cords vibrate producing a tone during production of the sound in question) or voice-

less (the vocal cords are silent). In the table below the sounds in group A do not occur in clusters together with the sounds in group B (although non-labials of A may precede /v v,/,). The sounds of group C, though phonetically voiced, may occur with sounds of either A or B.

A voice- less	p p, t t, k k, ss, š c č x ff,	C neutral
B voiced	b b, d d, g g, z z, ž - - -	v v,

When word formation, grammatical changes, or juxtaposition of words in rapid speech would otherwise bring sounds of A and B together in clusters, the last voiced or voiceless sound of the resulting cluster causes the remaining sounds of the cluster to assimilate to it, i.e., to be voiced or voiceless as it is, if they have a voiced or voiceless counterpart.

/č c x/ cause replacement of preceding voiced sounds by voiceless sounds; before voiced sounds they have voiced allophones [ž ʒ y]. Voiced counterparts of [č c x] other than as a result of assimilation occur only marginally (their possible phonemic status is discussed in note 1). Neutral sounds do not bring about assimilation. Notice that /v v,/ do not cause assimilation, but are affected by it (replaced by their voiceless counterparts /f f,/) if followed by a voiceless sound. Examples: preposition /k/ 'to', /dóčka/ 'daughter', /gdóčk, i/ 'to the daughter'; preposition /v/ 'in', /tánk/ 'tank', /ftánk, i/ 'in the tank', but /s/ 'with', plus /ván, a/ 'Johnny', /sván, ij/ 'with Johnny' (no assimilation); preposition /iz/ 'out of', /istánka/ 'out of the tank'; preposition /v/ 'in', /máj/ 'May', /vmájí/ 'in May' (no assimilation).

### 1.2.2 Neutralization of voice word-finally

Only voiceless or neutral consonants appear at the end of a word before juncture or before a word beginning with a vowel, a neutral consonant, or a voiceless consonant; thus, voiced consonants which would otherwise appear are replaced by their unvoiced counterparts.

Examples:

/bl, úda/	dish	/bl, út/	of dishes
/šága/	of a step	/šák/	step
/gáza/	of gas	/gás/	gas

Of course, if a word otherwise ending in an unvoiced consonant is followed without juncture by a word beginning with a voiced consonant, the unvoiced final consonant of the first word is replaced by its voiced counterpart.

/kák/	how	/d, ilá/	affairs, works
/kàgd, ilá/	how are things		

### 1.2.3 Sibilant assimilation

As sequences of apico-dental (hissing) sibilants plus post-alveolar (hushing) sibilants do not occur, before /š ž č/, /s z/ are replaced by /š ž/.

/s/	with	/šúba/	fur coat	/ššúbaj/	with a fur coat
		/žiná/	wife	/žžinój/	with one's wife
		/čisi/	watch	/ščisám, i/	with a watch
/iz/	out of	/žurnál/	magazine	/ižžurnála/	out of the magazine
		/čáj/	tea	/iščája/	out of tea
		/šáxta/	mine	/iššáxti/	out of the mine

### 1.2.4 Neutralization of palatalization before dentals (except /l/)

A palatalized consonant loses its palatalization when an element beginning with an unpalatalized dental consonant /t d n s z c r/ follows it.

Nsg.	p, ós	Gsg.	psa	dog
vs.				
Nsg.	agan, ók	Gsg.	agan, ká	small fire

### 1.2.5 Replacement of vowels in unstressed syllables

As stated above, /e o/ do not occur in unstressed syllables. Further, in unstressed syllables preceding stress, the distribution of vowels is limited in such a way that while /a i u/ occur after non-palatalized consonants, only /i u/ may occur after palatalized consonants. For morphophonemic purposes, it is useful to posit non-palatalized consonants other than /š ž č/ as "hard" consonants and palatalized consonants plus /š ž č/ as "soft" consonants. With some speakers (representing an older standard) the limitation to /i u/ is extended to position after all "soft" consonants (i.e., to position after /š ž č/ as well as after C.)

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and /a/ is accordingly replaced by /i/ after /š ž c/ as well as after C.,.

As the place of stress shifts due to change in grammatical forms or to word-building and derivation, we have the following vowel replacements:<sup>8</sup>

		pre-stress		post-stress	
stressed		syllable	after "hard"	after /š ž c/	after pal. consonant
a	→	a	a (~ i*)	i	a
o	→	a	i	i	a
e	→	-	i	i	-
i	}	—no change—			
u					i

\*older norm

Examples:

Before Stress

a → i	Nsg. /čás/ час	Npl. /čisi/ часы	hour
	Nsg. /šák/ шаг	Npl. /šag, i/ шаги	step
		(or older /šig, i/)	
o → a	Nsg. /górat/ город	Npl. /garadá/	city
		городá	
o → i	Past m. /p, ok/ пёк	Past f. /p, iklá/	baked
		пекла	
	/žóltij/		yellow
	жёлтый		
		/žilt, ét, /	to become
		желтеть	yellow
e → i	Nsg. /vr, ém, a/	Npl. /vr, im, iná/	time
	время	времена	
	N /šéšt,/ шесть	G /šist, í/ шести	six

After Stress

o → a~i	Nsg. -ó: /aknó/ окно	window
	/mór, i~/ /mór, a/ море	sea
	/lóži~/ /lóža/ ложе	bed
	Gsg. -ovo: /bal, šóva/ большого	big
	/l, étn, iva~/ /l, étn, ava/	summer
	летнего	
	/xaróšiva~/ /xaróšava/	good
	хорошего	

e → i	DPsg. -e: /žin, é/ жене	wife
	/báb, i/ бабе	old woman
	/káši/ каše	gruel, kasha

### 1.2.6 Non-occurrence of velar plus /i/

The sequence velar /k g x/ plus /i/ does not occur without intervening juncture. If an element beginning with /i/ is attached to a velar, the velar becomes palatalized:

Nsg. /kn, íga/	Gsg. /kn, ig, i/	books
/t, ótka/	/t, ótk, i/	aunt
/blaxá/	/blax, i/	flea

Likewise, after a vowel, after a pause (utterance initially), after a major juncture, or after a minor juncture in slow and deliberate speech, /i/ is replaced by /, i/. Thus,

/sigrájit/	сыграст	he will play
/za, igrájit/	заиграет	he will begin to play
/ól, ga, igrájit/	Ольга играет	Olga is playing
/, igrájit/ (utterance initial)	играет	(he, she, it) is playing
/ònigrájit/ (rapid) or /ón+, igrájit/ (deliberate)	он играет	he is playing
/sn, ék+ id, ót/ (rapid) or /sn, ék+, id, ót/ (deliberate)	снег идёт	snow is falling

These replacements of /i/ by /, i/ are automatic in the sense that they occur in the overwhelming majority of cases. There are a very few morphemes in which the replacement never takes place and as such constitute an exception to the complete automaticity of the phenomena in question; these are /i/ 'the letter ы' for most speakers, and for some speakers certain technical words as /inikčánsk, ij/ бінкчанский (place name in Yakut ASSR, cf. БСЭ), /ákín/ акын '(Qazaq) bard.'<sup>9</sup>

### 1.2.7 Automatic palatalization before /e/

When an element beginning with /e/ is attached to any consonant capable of being palatalized, that consonant becomes palatalized.

Nsg. /žiná/	Dsg. /žin, é/	wife
/ruká/	/ruk, é/	hand
/z, imá/	/z, im, é/	winter
/báza/	/báz, i/	base
/xáta/	/xát, i/	hut

From the last example it will be seen that this rule holds also when the /e/ is replaced by /i/ in unstressed position.

### 1.3 CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING TO SPEECH

### 1.3.1 The Russian alphabet

| <i>letter transliteration</i> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| А а                           | а                             | Л л                           | л                             | Х х                           | х                             |
| Б б                           | б                             | М м                           | м                             | Ц ц                           | с                             |
| В в                           | в                             | Н н                           | н                             | Ч ч                           | č                             |
| Г г                           | г                             | О о                           | о                             | Ш ш                           | š                             |
| Д д                           | д                             | П п                           | п                             | Щ щ                           | šč                            |
| Е е                           | е                             | Р р                           | р                             | Ь ь                           | "                             |
| Ж ж                           | ž                             | С с                           | с                             | Ы ы                           | у                             |
| З з                           | z                             | Т т                           | т                             | Ь ь                           | '                             |
| И и                           | i                             | Ү ү                           | ү                             | Э э                           | ě                             |
| Й й                           | j                             | Ф ф                           | ф                             | Ю ю                           | ju                            |
| К к                           | k                             | -                             | -                             | Я я                           | ja                            |

The above transliteration is the one used by most Slavists in scholarly publications to render the Russian Cyrillic letters into a Latin letter spelling, as for example, in citing names of persons or publications. A transliteration is thus a representation, in one-to-one correspondence, of *spelling*, not of sound. It is not a transcription intended to represent the sounds of a language (various types of transcription are treated in section 1.5 below).

### 1.3.2 Representation of the Russian sounds by the letters

spoken	Vowels in stressed syllable	/a/	/e/	/i/	/o/	/u/
written	“Hard” series letters	а	э	ы	о	у
with	“Soft” series letters	я	е	и	ё	ю

### *Paired consonants*

spoken	written	spoken	written	spoken	written
p p,—п		f f,—ф		l l,—л	
b b,—б		v v,—в		r r,—р	
t t,—т		x x,—х		m m,—м	
d d,—д		s s,—с		n n,—н	
k k,—к		z z,—з			
g g,—г					

*Unpaired consonants**non-palatalized*

с—ц  
ш—ш  
ж—ж

*palatalized*

չ—ч  
շշ—шш  
յ—յ

*Special signs*

- “Soft” sign—ъ      (indicates palatalization of preceding consonant)
- “Hard” sign—ь      (in conjunction with following “soft” series letter, indicates consonant is followed by /j/)

Each of the five Russian vowels is represented by two letters, one being the so-called “hard” series letter the other being the so-called “soft” series letter. The “hard” series letter represents the vowel after a non-palatalized consonant; the “soft” series letter represents the vowel after a palatalized consonant. As each pair of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants is represented by a single letter, a non-palatalized consonant plus vowel is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the appropriate “hard” series vowel letter, while a palatalized consonant plus vowel is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the appropriate “soft” series letter. Thus /ta/ is та, while /t<sub>ь</sub>а/ is тя. A palatalized consonant not followed by a vowel (say, at the end of a word) is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the soft sign ъ. Thus, /-т<sub>ь</sub>/ is -ть.

When a “soft” series vowel letter does not occur after a consonant letter (i.e., when it is after another vowel letter, a hard or soft sign, or at the beginning of a word), it represents /j/ plus its appropriate vowel. Thus, /b<sub>ь</sub>ju/ is written бью and /jar/ is written яр. The sound /j/ is represented as follows:

## 1) Before vowel

(a) at beginning of word or after another vowel—by writing the appropriate “soft” series vowel letter: /јá/ я ‘I’, /ujút/ уют ‘cosiness’.

(b) after a consonant—by writing the appropriate “soft” series vowel letter in conjunction with preceding hard or soft sign: /b<sub>ь</sub>, jú/ бью ‘I beat’, /s, jést,/ съесть ‘to eat up’.

2) After a vowel, but with no vowel following—with letter Ѽ: /mój/ мой ‘my’. Very rarely, Ѽ represents /j/ in other positions: /majór/ майор ‘major’.

The letter ъ has no independent sound value but serves to indicate that the preceding letter represents a palatalized sound. If

TABLE 1. PRONUNCIATION OF RUSSIAN VOWEL LETTERS

letter	at beginning of word		in non-initial position		
	stressed	unstressed	before, but not immediately before, stress	syllable immediately before stress	stressed syllable
у ю	u ju	u ju	u ,	u ,	u ,
и (except after ш ж ц) и (following щ ж ц)	i -- *i [±]	i -- *i [±]	i i [±] i [±] i [±]	i i [±] i [±] i [±]	i i [±] i [±] i [±]
ы е (following щ ж ц) е (elsewhere)	--	--	jɪ jɪ or e	i i [±] i	e e ə
ё	e	e	jɪ	i i [±]	ə [ə]
я а (after ў щ) а (elsewhere)	ja -- ə	ja -- ə	i i [±]	i a [θ] a [θ]	a a [θ] a [θ]
о	o	o	--	--	o o
ë**	jo	jo	--	--	--

\* occurs only very rarely in position indicated  
 \*\* often printed simple е

followed by a “soft” series vowel letter, it also indicates that the sound /j/ follows. Sometimes it is written after unpaired consonant letters. In such a case, it signals nothing and its presence is purely a spelling convention: ночь /nóč/ ‘night’ вошь /vóš/ ‘louse’. The letter ъ is written only after prefixes ending in a consonant and serves, in conjunction with a following “soft” series vowel letter, to indicate that a /j/ follows: съесть /s, ést./ ‘eat up’.

The letters ү, ү, ж, representing consonants which are always non-palatalized, plus the letters ҹ and ҹ, representing always palatalized consonants, form a special group. After them (ү, ү, ж, ҹ, ҹ), only а and у (never я or ю) are written; after ҹ, ҹ, ж, ҹ, ҹ, only и (rather than ы) is written, despite the fact that [ɿ] (never [i]) is pronounced after ҹ and ж. After ү, ы is usually written, though и may be written in recently borrowed words (цирк ‘circus’, цинк ‘zinc’); however, [ɿ] is invariably pronounced. In grammatical endings of the noun and adjective, after ж ҹ ҹ ҹ ҹ, written о in stressed endings alternates with е in unstressed endings: Gpl. отцóв, украинцев; cf. отéц ‘father’, украинец ‘Ukrainian’. Phenomena of assimilation and voicing neutralization (1.2.1-3) are not reflected in the writing system. Thus, the examples given in those sections are written: к дочке, в танке, с Ваней, из танка, в мае, блюд, шаг, газ, как дела, с шубой, с женой, с часами, из журнала, из чая, из шахты.

Alternation of stressed and unstressed vowels (1.2.5) is also not reflected in the writing system. Thus, the letters have the varying pronunciation in various positions as indicated in the Table I.

## 1.4 NON-AUTOMATIC SOUND CHANGES

Besides consonant assimilation and vowel change caused by stress shift which is automatic (occur whenever the conditions of their occurrence are met), the following non-automatic sound changes are widespread in Russian.

### 1.4.1 Inserted vowel

Many elements which end in two or more consonants when followed by a vowel, occur with a vowel inserted between the last and next to last consonant of the original cluster when followed by a zero ending or by an element beginning with a consonant. The inserted vowels are /o/, /e/, and rarely /i/.

Examples:

/o/	r, eb, on(o)k-	ребёнок vs. zvon(o)k-	/r, ib, ónok/ ребёнка звонóк vs.	child of a child bell
	s, ost,(o)r-	звонкá сестёр vs.	/zvanká/ /s, ist, ór/	of a bell of sisters
/e/	agur,(e)c-	сёстры огурéц vs.	/s, óstri/ /agur, éc/	sisters cucumber
/i/	tret(,i)j-	огурцы трéтий vs.	/agurci/ /tr, ét, i j/	cucumbers the third
	od(,i)n-	трéтья одýн vs.	/tr, ét, ja/ /ad,in/	third (f) one
		одна	/adná/	one (f)

Inserted vowels appear principally in the Nsg. of *стóл-* and *ко́сть-* nouns, Gpl. of *женá-* and *окнó-*nouns, and in the nominative masculine short form of adjectives.

In stressed position three inserted vowels appear /o e ,i/. In the vast majority of cases the vowel is /o/. /e/ appears but rarely, most notably in the suffix -(e)c-, but also in a few other items, while /, i/ appears in very few items, namely in *od(,i)n-* ‘one’ and *jij(i)c-* яйцó Gpl. яйц ‘egg’.<sup>10</sup> A good rule of thumb for vowel insertion is if the consonant following the inserted vowel is palatalized (including /j/) or /c/ and the preceding consonant is soft, the inserted vowel is /e/, otherwise it is /o/; exceptions are extremely few, e.g., *xr,eb,(e)t-* хребéт ‘ridge, spine’.

In unstressed position, due to the rules of vowel replacement (1.2.5), we have only /a/ after hard consonants and /i/ after soft consonants, so that after soft consonants distinction between the three inserted vowel morphophonemes is neutralized and we can assign the unstressed inserted vowel to one of these three, if at all, on the basis of the morpheme in which it occurs. Thus, /,i/ in /ukrajín, ic/ we assign to the morphophoneme -e- on the basis of -(é)c- in *боéц* ‘warrior’, *огурéц*, etc. Unstressed /a/ after a hard consonant, of course, is always assignable to morphophonemic -o-.

### 1.4.2 Substitutive softening or J-change

The following consonant replacements take place; items on the left (or their palatalized counterparts) are replaced by those on the right:

replaced by			
/t	k/	→	/č/
/d	g z/	→	/ž/
/x	s/	→	/š/
labial C: /p b f v m/		→	labial C plus /l,/

The above changes are often referred to as substitutive softening, and in this work will usually be referred to as J-change. The clusters /st sk/ are replaced by /šč/ and /zd zg/ by /žž/; this change may be viewed as the regular J-change of the last consonant of the cluster plus sibilant assimilation of preceding /s z/ to the result of J-change. In some items (historically, borrowings from Church Slavic) /t d/ are replaced by /šč žž/ rather than /č ž/. J-change occurs mainly in verb morphology and in word-building.

Examples:

/d, → ž/	ходить /xad.it, /~ходý /xazú/	to go
/s → š/	писа́ть /pisát, /~пишý /p, isú/	to write
/zd, → žž/	е́здить /jézd.it, /~уезжáть /ujižžát, /	to go (away)
/p p, → pl,/	спáть /spát, /, спíт /sp, it/ ~сплю	
	/spl, ú/	to sleep
/k → č/	плáкать /plákat, /~плáчу /pláču/	to cry

### 1.4.3 /C, óC/~/C, éC, /

Sometimes, in position after palatalized consonant or /š ž/, /o/ followed by a non-palatalized consonant alternates with /e/ followed by a palatalized consonant. Since the unstressed replacement of both of these vowels is /i/, the alteration is realized only under stress.

Nsg. чéрт /čórt/ ~ Npl. чéрти /čért, i/ devil

past пéк /p, ók/ ~ inf. пéчь /p, éč/ to bake

Other non-automatic changes, which affect only single categories of words, will be mentioned under the discussion of the type of word involved (e.g., /t d b/ before /t/ → /s/ in the verbal infinitive, etc.).

## 1.5 DISCUSSION OF USE OF TRANSCRIPTIONS AND SPELLING

Language is basically oral. Writing is a secondary representation of speech (oral sounds). If we wish to record speech on paper, we use conventional writing, or, where particular accuracy is needed, as in linguistic investigations, a transcription. Transcriptions are of various kinds. A transcription which aims to record the most minute audible differences in speech sounds is termed phonetic and is usually enclosed in brackets [ ]. A transcription which aims to represent each phoneme (unit sound) of a given language with one and only one symbol is phonemic. Thus, we transcribe the Russian word *dáma* ‘lady’ phonetically [dámə] because the vowel in the second syllable differs noticeably from the one in the first syllable, but we transcribe it phonemically /dámə/, because both vowels are members of the same contrastive unit sound (phoneme) in Russian.

While only a phonemic transcription is consistent by always rendering each phoneme by the same symbol, a morphophonemic transcription, which does not reflect automatic (and hence predictable) phonemic changes undergone by forms in certain environments is often useful, for while we lose the one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and symbol, we gain in simplicity of representation of morphemes. Aside from minor inconsistencies, the Russian orthography is a pretty good morphophonemic transcription system (if stress is indicated).

### Transcriptions:

phonetic:	góret gérada	l. i x k ó l. ó x k, i j	
phonemic:	górat garadá	l. i x k ó l. ó x k, i j	one for one: phoneme ↔ symbol
morphophonemic:	górod gorodá	l. o x k ó l. ó x k i j	phoneme → symbol (we lose one-to-one phonemic correspondence but gain in simplicity of representation of morphemes)
orthography:	гóрод городá	лéгкó лёгкий	

Material in the text below will be presented either in normal Russian orthography (spelling) or in a transcription. Russian

spelling will be used for example words or sentences. However, material in Russian spelling will be accented, the acute accent (') indicating the stressed syllable (in the spelling material no distinction will be made between the three phonemic stresses). Elements smaller than words (prefixes, grammatical endings and other suffixes, word stems, etc.) will usually be given in a morphophonemic transcription. If necessary to call attention to the pronunciation of a particular item, of course, phonemic transcription (enclosed in slant lines / /) will be used. The morphophonemic transcription will utilize the symbols (letters) of phonemic transcription given above, it will be italicized in the text and will usually begin or end with a hyphen (representing morpheme boundary).

It is important to remember that, since automatic changes, such as vowel replacement through stress shift or voicing assimilation, are not indicated, the symbols of the morphophonemic transcription may represent more than one phoneme. Thus, -o will be /o/ when stressed, /, i/ unstressed after a palatalized consonant, and /a/ unstressed after a hard consonant.

The symbol “,” in the morphophonemic transcription deserves special mention. If it appears at the beginning of a morphophonemic formula, it means the consonant preceding the element represented will be palatalized (if such consonant is susceptible to palatalization). Thus, -, ot means that a consonant preceding this ending becomes palatalized. However “,” will not be written before the morphophonemic representation of an element beginning with e, because palatalization of a consonant preceding this morphophoneme is automatic: stem-final /n/ of the stem žon- (of жена ‘wife’) is palatalized before the ending -e of the prepositional and dative cases /žin, é/.

Our morphophonemic symbol i will represent [i] (the sound usually represented by the Russian letter И) after a palatalized consonant (word initially we would write ,i, ,idú for идú ‘I go’), and [ɨ] (the sound represented by the Russian letter Ы) after a non-palatalized consonant. It is important to remember the rule that i following a velar consonant /k g x/ automatically palatalizes the velar. Thus, the stem dočk- of дóчка ‘daughter’ adds /, / before the ending -i of the genitive singular: dočk,i.

In working with the morphophonemic transcription, the various automatic vowel replacements in unstressed position must be kept in mind; the morphophoneme -o- (spelled o or ö) when unstressed is realized as /i/ after soft consonants (i.e., after palatalized consonants and /š ž c/) and as /a/ after hard consonants. Thus: stol- ‘table’, Gsg. stolá /stalá/ столá; žon- ‘wife’, Npl. žóni /žóni/ жёны, Nsg. žoná /žiná/ женá; p,ok- ‘to bake’, p,ók

/p, ók/ пёк 'he) baked', /p, oklá/ /p, iklá/ пеклá 'she baked'.

Also, compare the ending -o of the Nsg. of one class of nouns:

<i>p, is, mó</i>	<i>/p, is, mó/</i>	письмо	letter
<i>ružjó</i>	<i>/ružjó/</i>	ружьё	gun
<i>m, áso</i>	<i>/m, ása/</i>	мясо	meat
<i>mór, o</i>	<i>/mó, r, i/</i>	мóре	sea
<i>lóžo</i>	<i>/lóži/</i>	лóже	couch, bed

In general, our Latin letter morphophonemic transcription will bear a very close correspondence to the Russian Cyrillic letter spelling (taking account of the special conventions of Russian spelling, such as the special "soft" series of vowel letters used to represent a vowel after a palatalized consonant and also /j/ plus vowel, as explained above). Particularly, one should remember that the morphophoneme -o is often represented by the Russian letters ё or е.

#### NOTES

1. Possible additional phonemes: Some speakers have /y/, a voiced counterpart of /x/, in a few items such as /bóya/ 'of God' where others have /g/. This pronunciation is regarded as old-fashioned and obsolescent. For such speakers /y/ is a phoneme, rather than a positional variant of /x/. Because of items like /žékat/, 'to use the dialect pronunciation "ž"', /ž. in./ (onomatopoetic), /žút/ 'jute', /žás/ 'jazz', /az, irbajžán/ 'Azerbaijhan', it is possible that, for at least some speakers, /ʒ/ and /ž/ are phonemic—voiced counterparts to /c/ and /č/ respectively. Another possible analysis would be to analyze [ʒ] and [ž] as /dʒ/ and /dž/; choice of single phoneme or cluster analysis would presumably depend on whether [ʒ] and [ž] were articulated as closely fused as /c č/ or more loosely joined, and also whether they are, except for the voice component, articulatorily completely parallel to their voiceless counterpart. In fact, [ʒ] seems to be articulated at the position of /z/ rather than of /c/. Finally, a marginal phoneme /h/ occurs in a few interjections such as /ahá/ 'aha!'.

2. This analysis treats the sound segment usually represented by the letter ѿ or by сў as the sequence /šč/ (/iščit/ 'seeks', /ščót/ 'account') and the segment represented variously by эж, эх, etc. as /žž/ (/ujížzát/, /uezžat/ 'to go away'). In so doing, I conform to a variety of the newer (Leningrad) norm of standard Russian. Other idiolects, representing the older (Moscow) norm, have, in some of the items corresponding to those where the speech variety here treated has /šč/ and /žž/, respectively, the sequences /šš/ and /žž/ respectively: /išš, it/, /šš, ót/, /ujížž, át/; while in other items /šč/ (or /š+č/) and /žž/ occur in both varieties: /b, iščúfstf/ or /b, iš+čúfstf/ 'без чувства 'without feelings', /žžók/ 'ожгёл 'he) burned up'. In this second variety then, one must add the proviso that /š/ and /ž/ when geminated may be palatalized; that is, /, / may in some instances occur in conjunction with double /š/ and /ž/. To this extent the phonology of the older norm is more complicated than that of the newer.

3. /k, g, x,/ are in almost complementary distribution with /k g x/, the former usually occurring before /i e/, the latter before /a o u/. However, there do exist

contrasts, particularly for /k/ versus /k/. Thus, /kót/ кот 'tomcat' vs. /tk.ót/ ткёт 'weaves'; /kurórt/ курорт 'health resort' vs. /kjuv.ét/ кювет 'small basin, cuvette'; /g.érg/ герб 'coat of arms' vs. /gés/ ГЭС 'hydroelectric station'; /xáta/ хата 'cottage' vs. /x.ata/ Хата (placename in Siberia, north of Magadan), /xék.i/ хэки 'hakes (pl.)', a fish (genus *Merluccius*) occur in Soviet waters as well as elsewhere (Большая Советская Энциклопедия, v. vol. 46, 2d ed., Moscow: 1949-58) vs. /x.éđ.ir/ хедер 'header (part of a combine), cheder (Jewish religious school)'; /x.urk.il.inci/ Хюркилины (name of an ethnic group in Daghestan) vs. /x.ul.igánstva/ хулиганство 'hooliganism, rowdiness'. See also A. N. Gvozdëv, Современный русский литературный язык I, 2d ed., Moscow: Учпедгиз, 1961, pp. 16-17.

4. The brief presentation of the vowel system given here does not permit a detailed justification of this analysis. For a fuller discussion, see my article "An Alternative Phonemic Analysis of Russian," *SEEJ* 6:125-8 (1962) and my rebuttal of discussion attendant upon it in *SEEJ* 7:97-9 (1963); E. Stankiewicz's assumption (*SEEJ* 9:434 [1965]) that I have somehow abandoned the position I assumed in that study is based upon a misunderstanding; my *SEEJ* article was written after my *Slavic Historical Phonology in Tabular Form*, The Hague: Mouton, 1963, though the latter, due to speedier publication of journal material, appeared with a publication date subsequent to the journal article. For the distinction of /i/ versus /i/, see also A. N. Gvozdëv, Современный русский литературный язык I, 2d ed., Moscow: Учпедгиз, 1961, p. 13.

5. The exceptions are constituted by various recent foreign borrowings as /ráđ.ijo/ 'radio' where /e o/ may occur in unstressed syllables.

6. Monosyllabic prepositions and the negative particle /n.e/ are proclitics, i.e., they form a single stress unit with the following noun (plurisyllabic prepositions may behave in this way or bear secondary stress). Typically, the preposition is unstressed, but in some fixed expressions composed of a preposition plus a noun, the stress (of the whole stress unit) may rest upon the preposition: /nágaru/ на гору 'uphill'; also compare /n.ébila/ не было 'wasn't' (neuter) vs. /n.ibilá/ не была 'wasn't' (feminine).

7. The major segment is termed "macrosegment" by C. F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, New York: MacMillan, 1958, p. 38, and termed *takt* in much European writing.

8. There is considerable disagreement, undoubtedly reflecting variation in actual usage, concerning vowel replacement in post-stress position after a soft consonant. All are agreed that /e/ → /i/ and that /u i/ remain unchanged. According to D. Ward (*The Russian Language Today*, Chicago: CUP, 1965, pp. 29-30), /o a/ → /a/ in post-stress position after soft C. According to R. I. Avanesov (Фонстика современного русского литературного языка, Moscow, 1956, pp. 121-23), /o/ → /i/ in verbal endings, /a~i/ in nouns, /i/ being the newer norm, and /a/ remains /a/. According to S. C. Boyanus (*Russian Pronunciation and Russian Phonetic Reader*, Cambridge: HUP, 1955), /o/ → /a~i/, /a/ remains /a/ only in open final syllables, while in all other post-stress syllables the same replacement rules apply as to pre-stress syllables, i.e., /a o e/ → /i/ after C..

9. As replacement of /i/ by /i/ is automatic with the few exceptions mentioned in the last paragraph, in a possible morphophonemic notation we would not need to write /i/ word initially or following velar, but would write *i* instead—it being understood that /i/ occurs automatically under the conditions stated above. Items which retain /i/ word initially or after velar would be considered as containing a rarely occurring morphophoneme *i* (i.e., /i/ not subject to replacement by /i/) and would be written *i*, *akin*. This morphophonemic notation would then coincide with that proposed by R. L. Leed in *SEEJ* 7:39-42 (1963), though the theoretic justi-

fication for it is different from Leed's proposal. In the morphophonemic notation which I use in the present work (section 1.5), I shall for pedagogic clarity, write the sequence /,i/ (/i/) wherever it occurs, including after velars and initially.

10. I posit /,i/ rather than /i/ as the inserted vowel, since it is necessary to account for the palatalization of the morpheme final consonant in such examples as /b, / (from /r'iba/ *рыба* 'fish' with unpalatalized /b/) in the adjective /rib, ij/ (the palatalization of the forms without /,i/ is conditioned by the following /j/). In unstressed syllables, of course, the distinction between inserted /,i/ and /e/ is neutralized.



# The Form System

## 2.1 NOMINAL WORDS

The classes of words (“parts of speech”) are here defined primarily according to the morphological paradigm into which they fall. That is, all words which occur with the set of endings characteristic of any one of the noun declensions is a noun, etc. Secondarily, syntactic criteria apply in defining word classes. Thus, any item which appears solely in a syntactic slot predominantly occupied by nouns would be classified a noun, even though it might not show the inflectional suffixes of a noun declension (e.g., it might be morphologically unchanging, indeclinable). Where the two types of criteria (inflectional form and syntactic function) conflict, we are obviously dealing with special subclasses (cf. substantivized adjectives, 2.1.2.2 below).

Nominal words are those words which manifest the category of case. The Russian case system comprises six cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, prepositional, dative, and instrumental, respectively abbreviated N, A, G, P, D, I. These cases are signalled, in part, by the occurrence of inflectional suffixes (case endings), which usually have a distinct phonemic shape, though each paradigm has at least one pair of homophonous endings.

Nominal words comprise nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. All but numerals manifest the grammatical categories, singular (sg.) versus plural (pl.). Nouns typically have a complete array of case forms for both singular and plural, though there is a large group (mass nouns, placenames, and the like) which occur usually or exclusively in singular form and a somewhat smaller group (pluralia tantum, 2.1.1.6) which occur only in the plural. Nouns further possess the category of gender (masculine, feminine, or neuter) which is correlated to a certain extent with their declensional class; the inherent gender of a noun is manifested by pro-

nominal replacement (i.e., a masculine noun is replaced or referred to by a masculine pronoun, a feminine noun by a feminine pronoun, etc.) and by adjective agreement (an adjective attribute to a masculine noun must be in masculine form, etc.). Nouns further manifest the category animate versus inanimate: Animate nouns normally designate living beings and inanimate nouns, lifeless objects or concepts, though there is a minute residue of marginal words where grammatical animateness and life in the designatum do not coincide. The characteristics of remaining nominal words are discussed at the head of their respective sections.

### 2.1.1 Nouns

TABLE 2. NOUN ENDINGS

Sg.	окнó	стóл	женá	кóсть
N	-o	-Ø	-a	-Ø
A		(N ~ G)	-u	
G	-a		-i	
P	-e			
D	-u			
I	-om		-oj(u)	-ju
Pl.	Ending	Remarks		
N	-a	almost all окнó-nouns; some стóл-nouns		
	-i	all кóсть and женá-nouns; most стóл-nouns; very few окнó-nouns		
A	(N ~ G)			
G	Ø	the vast majority of женá- and окнó-nouns; a few стóл-nouns		
	-ov	most стóл-nouns ending in hard C or /j/; a very few окнó-nouns		
	-ej	all кóсть-nouns; стóл-nouns ending in soft C other than /j/; a very few женá- and окнó-nouns		
P	-ax			
D	-am			
I	-am, i	a very few nouns have -m, i		

### Sample declensions of nouns:

Sg.	стóл-nouns, Animate		
	professor	American	teacher
N	профéссор	америкáнец	учíтель
AG	профéссора	америкáнца	учíтеля
P	профéссоре	америкáнце	учíтеле
D	профéссору	америкáнцу	учíтелю
I	профéссором	америкáнцем	учíтелем

Pl.

N	профессорá	америкáнцы	учителý
AG	профессорóв	америкáнцев	учителéй
P	профессорáх	америкáнцах	учителяx
D	профессорáм	америкáнцам	учителям
I	профессорáми	америкáнцами	учителáми

S<sub>g</sub>.

### стóл-nouns, Inanimate

	table	pencil	bell	edge
NA	стóл	карандаш	звонóк	кра́й
G	столá	карандашá	звонкá	кра́я
P	столé	карандашé	звонкé	краé
D	столú	карандашú	звонкú	краю
I	столом	карандашом	звонкóм	краем

Pl.

NA	столы́	карандашí	звонкí	кра́й
G	столóв	карандашéй	звонкóв	краёв
P	столáх	карандашáх	звонкáх	кра́ях
D	столáм	карандашáм	звонкáм	кра́ям
I	столáми	карандашáми	звонкáми	кра́ими

S<sub>g</sub>.

### Sg. okhó-nouns

## женá-nouns

	window	meeting	gun	wife	aunt
N	{ окнó	{ собráние	{ ружьё	женá	тётя
A				жену́	тёту
G	окнá	собráния	ружья́	жены́	тёти
P	окнé	собráнии	ружье́	{ женé	{ тёте
D	окнú	собráнию	ружью́		
I	окнóм	собráнием	ружьём	жено́й	тётеи

Pl.

P	óкнах	собра́ниях	рúжьях	жёнах	тётях
D	óкнам	собра́ниям	рúжьям	жёнам	тётям
I	óкнами	собра́ниями	рúжьями	жёнами	тётями
Sg.	женá-nouns				кóсть-поин
	book	grandfather	land	judge	door
N	кни́га	дéдушка	земля́	судья́	{ двéрь
A	кни́гу	дéдушку	зéмлю	судью́	
G	кни́ги	дéдушки	земли́	судьи́	{ двéри
P	{ кни́ге	{ дéдушке	{ землé	{ судье́	
D	кни́гой	дéдушкой	землéй	судьёй	двéрю
I					
Pl.					
N	{ кни́ги	дéдушки	{ зéмли	сúдьи	{ двéри
A	кни́г	{ дéдушек	земéль	{ сúдей	
G	кни́гах	дéдушках	зéмлях	сúдьях	дверéй
P	кни́гам	дéдушкам	зéмлям	сúдьям	дверя́х
D	кни́гами	дéдушками	зéмлями	сúдьями	дверя́м
I					(-ьми)

2.1.1.1 *Remarks on the case endings.* The accusative singular of стóл-nouns and the accusative plural of all nouns is identical with the genitive if the noun in question indicates a living being, but is identical with the nominative if it indicates an inanimate object or concept.

In the nominative plural very nearly all окнó-nouns and a fairly large (and growing number) of стóл-nouns have the ending *-a*. In the overwhelming majority of стóл-nouns with this ending, it is stressed. The remaining стóл- (and a few окнó-) nouns and all женá- and кóсть-nouns have the ending *-i*. The few окнó-nouns with *-i* include the stem-changing nouns óко 'eye' (archaic), ýxo 'ear' (Npl. óчи, ýши), all окнó-nouns with stems ending in /k/ (e.g., вéко 'eyelid') except óблако 'cloud', nouns with the suffix *-išč-* (e.g., домíще 'big house'), and a few isolated nouns like плечó 'shoulder' and колéно 'knee' (plural колéни with addition of palatalization of stem-final /n/).

In the genitive plural, the overwhelming majority of окнó- and женá-nouns as well as a fair number of стóл-nouns have zero ending. A very few женá- and окнó-nouns with the stem ending in palatalized consonant other than /j/ or in /š ū/ have the ending *-ej*. For example, дáдя 'uncle', genitive plural дáдей; мóре 'sea', genitive plural морéй; ýxo 'ear', genitive plural ушéй. A small number

(but not the great majority, which have -∅) of окнó-nouns with stems terminating in /j/ have the ending *-ov*. For example, плáтье ‘dress’, genitive plural плáтьев. Two other окнó-nouns have the genitive plural ending *-ov*: óблако ‘cloud’, genitive plural облакóв and сúдно ‘vessel’, genitive plural судóв (the latter drops the stem-final /n/ in the plural).

The masculine кóсть-noun, пúть ‘way, path’, has the ending *-om*, путём in the instrumental singular. In the instrumental singular, one женá-noun, ты́сяча ‘thousand’, has a кóсть-type ending, ты́сячью.

A very few nouns (all with stems ending in a soft consonant) have *-m, i* in the instrumental plural. These are людьмí ‘with people’, детьмí ‘with children’, and, optionally, лошадьмí ‘with horses’, дверьмí ‘with doors’.

Nouns with stems ending in *-ij-*, have the unstressed ending *-e* in the singular prepositional (and dative of женá-nouns) spelled и. For example, Лíдия ‘Lydia’ Лíдии; гéний ‘genius’ о гéнии; пéние ‘singing’ о пéнии.

#### 2.1.1.2 Additional endings.

1) The instrumental singular of женá-nouns may be extended by the addition of /u/. Thus, Isg. женой or женóю. The longer instrumental is not used in colloquial speech, but is restricted to formal written style.

2) A number of inanimate стóл- and кóсть-nouns (about eighty in all, perhaps half of which occur with some frequency) have a second prepositional (locative), which is always stressed, used after the prepositions в ‘in’ and на ‘on’, when used in locational (i.e., not figurative) meaning; thus, в лесу ‘in the forest’, but разбира́ться в лéсе ‘be knowledgeable about the forest’. This locative ending is *-ú* for стóл-nouns and *-i* for кóсть-nouns. Such nouns usually have monosyllabic stems; a smaller number have stems of two syllables. None are longer. Some of the more common nouns which possess the second locative include the following:

##### стóл-nouns

Дóн	Don	глáз	eye	сáд	garden	вéтер	wind
Кры́м	Crimea	вид	view	снéг	snow	бóк	side
мир	world	гóд	year	лéс	forest	кра́й	edge, region

##### кóсть-nouns

кóсть bone      дvéрь door      нóчь night      пéчь oven

3) Second genitive in *-u*. A number of стóл-nouns have an addi-

tional ending, *-u*, which is used in a partitive (quantitative) sense: стакан чая ‘a glass of tea’ vs. цвет чая ‘the color of the tea’; много сахара ‘a lot of sugar’ vs. цена сахара ‘the price of sugar’; нет уксусу ‘there’s no vinegar’ vs. вкус уксуса ‘the taste of vinegar’.

The genitive *-u* is also sometimes used after prepositions, particularly in certain set phrases: с часу на час ‘from hour to hour’. Usage in regard to these second endings is likely to vary among speakers.

#### 2.1.1.3 *Distribution of genders.*

All стол-nouns are masculine.

All окно-nouns but подмастерье ‘apprentice’ and masculine diminutives in *-išč-* are neuter.

All кость-nouns but one (путь ‘road’ masculine) are feminine. Most женá-nouns are feminine, but a small number, mainly consisting of men’s names and nicknames (Никита ‘Nikita’, Коля ‘Nick’) and designations for male kin (дядя ‘uncle’, дедушка ‘grandpa’) are masculine. Another small group may be either masculine or feminine depending on whether they refer to a male or female person, e.g., пьяница ‘drunkard’, сирота ‘orphan’.

Mixed nouns (see 2.1.1.5) are neuter.

#### 2.1.1.4 *Modifications of the noun stem.*

1) Before zero endings (Nsg. of стол- and кость-nouns, Gpl. of женá- and окно-nouns) and endings which begin with a consonant (Isg. of кость-nouns), an inserted vowel may occur in stems otherwise ending in a sequence of consonants: Украинец vs. Gsg.

Украинца, ‘Ukrainian’; любовь, любовью vs. Gsg. любви ‘love’; окно vs. Gpl. окон or окон ‘window’; студентка vs. Gpl. студенток ‘girl student’. The окно-noun дно ‘bottom’ extends its stem with /j/ (see 4 below) and has inserted *-o-* in all plural: Npl. донъя, Gpl. донъев, etc.

2) Addition of palatalization to the stem-final consonant occurs in the plural of two стол-nouns, чёрт (also spelled чорт) ‘devil’ and сосед ‘neighbor’, and one окно-noun, колено ‘knee’. Thus, Npl. чёрти, соседи, колёни. The кость-noun, церковь ‘church’, loses the palatalization of its stem-final consonant in PDIpl.: о церквах, церквами, церквами.

3) The word чёрт ‘devil’ also changes its stem vowel from /o/ in the singular to /e/ in the nominative plural: Npl. чёрти. The remaining plural case forms stress the endings: чертей, so the /o~e/ alteration is neutralized in them.

4) Addition of /j/ to form the plural stem. A few стóл and окнó-nouns add /j/ to the stem in the plural.

Nsg.	Npl.	
брáт	брáтья	brother
мúж	муж্যá	husband
перó	пéрья	feather, pen point

It should be noted that all nouns of this type have -a in the Npl. and all but three have -ov in the Gpl. The three exceptions are мужьá 'husbands', князьá 'princes', and друзьá 'friends'. These have the ending zero with inserted vowel -e- in the Gpl. мужéй, князéй, друзéй. Items крюк 'hook' and дрýг 'friend' change the consonant preceding /j/: Npl. друзьá, крючья.

5) Addition of -ov,(e)j- to form the plural stem. Two стóл-nouns, сын 'son' and кýм 'godparent', add -ov,(e)j- to the stem in all cases of the plural. The endings in the plural are stressed and the Gpl. has a zero ending with an inserted vowel: N сыновьá, AG сыновéй, P сыновъáх, D сыновъáм, I сыновъáми.

6) Loss of the suffix - ,in- in the plural. A number of стóл-nouns, all of which denote members of various nationalities, regional or social groups, etc., have stems terminating in a suffix - ,in- which is dropped in the plural. All nouns of this kind have zero as a Gpl. ending. In most of these nouns - ,in- is preceded by -an-. In the Npl. the ending is written -e and is - ,i (i.e., /i/ with preceding palatalization). The stem is non-palatalized in plural forms other than nominatives.

N	англичáин	Englishman	англичáне
GA	англичáина		англичáн
P	англичáине		англичáнах
D	англичáину		англичáнам
I	англичáином		англичáнами

A few nouns of this group do not have -an- preceding - ,in-. Thus, бóярин 'boyar' has a Npl. ending - ,i (бóяре, Gpl. бóяр, etc.); бáрин 'lord', татáрин 'Tatar', and болгáрин 'Bulgar' have the Npl. ending -i. Thus, Npl. болгáры, Gpl. болгáр, etc. господíн 'gentleman, Mr., sir' has the Npl. ending -á. Thus, Npl. господá, Gpl. господд, etc. хозáин 'landlord, owner, host' substitutes in the plural -ov- for the - ,in- of the singular. The Npl. ending is unstressed -a. Thus, Npl. хозяева, Gpl. хозяев, etc.

7) Nouns in - ,ón(o)k-~-,at-. A number of стóл-nouns denoting young humans or animals (e.g., телёнок 'calf', поросёнок 'little pig', ребёнок 'child') have singular stems ending in the suffix

-*ónk-* (with inserted /o/ in the nominative singular). The plural stem replaces the -*ón(o)k-* of the singular with -*,at-*. The Npl. ending is unstressed *-a* and the Gpl. is zero.

8) сúдно—the окнó-noun сúдно ‘vessel, ship, bedpan’ drops the final /n/ of the stem in the plural. The Npl. ending is *-a*, the Gpl. *-ov*; thus, Npl. судá, Gpl. судóв, etc.

9) Addition of suffix *-es-*. Two окнó-nouns add a suffix *-es-* to the stem in the plural. These are чúдо ‘wonder’, нéбо ‘sky, heaven’; thus, NA чудесá, G чудéс, Р чудесáх, D чудесáм, I чудесáми.

10) Loss of *-ir,-*. The кóсть-nouns дóчь ‘daughter’ and мáть ‘mother’ drop the suffix *-ir,-* in the NAsg. Thus, sg. NA мáть, GPD мáтери, I мáтерью; pl. N мáтери, AG матерéй, Р матерéх, D матерéям, I матерéми.

11) Some nouns with stems ending in a palatalized consonant and with inserted vowels lose /, / in the genitive plural: бáшня, Gpl. бáшен ‘tower’.

#### 2.1.1.5 *Nouns of mixed declension (stem-final -on, -~, -a).*

1) Several neuter nouns, the most important of which are имя ‘name’ and врéмя ‘time’ have кóсть-type endings in all cases of the singular (*ø* in NAsg.) but instrumental and окнó-type endings in Isg. and in all cases of the plural. In addition, they lose in the NAsg. final /n/ of their stem and substitute /-, a/ for the vowel preceding it, before the zero ending.

The plural loses palatalization after stem-final /n/.

кóсть-endings	NA	имя		именá
	G			имён
	P	имени		именáх
	D			именáм
I	именем			именáми
окнó-endings		stem-final /-n,/		stem-final /-n/

Note that the plural endings are stressed.

All nouns of this group have stem-final *-on, -~, -a*, as above, except for сéмя ‘seed’ and стréмя ‘stirrup’ which, for some speakers, have Gpl. семéн, стремéн and thus end in *-an,-* (spelled -ен- and pronounced /-, in, -/ when unstressed) *~-, a*.

2) The neuter noun дитя ‘child’ likewise shows a number of changes of stem and ending type:

		Sg.		Pl.
кóсть-endings	N	дитя́	/d.it, á/	дéти дете́й дeтях дeтям
	A			
	G			
	P	дитáти	/d.it, át.i/	
	D			
женá-endings	I	дитáтей	/d.it, át.ij/	детьми

The stem is NAsg. *d.et,-a-* ~ GPDIsg. *d.et,-at,-* ~ pl. *d.et,-*; кóсть-endings in NAGPDsg., женá-endings in Isg. and all plural. The singular forms of this noun are little used and ребёнок ‘child, baby’ is used instead; conversely, the plural of ребёнок, ребята, is little used, except jocularly, ‘kids’, the usual word for children being дéти.

2.1.1.6 *Nouns which have plural only (pluralia tantum).* Russian like many languages (cf. English ‘scissors’) has a number of words which have plural forms only. As Russian does not distinguish gender in the plural, it is impossible to assign them to any gender category. However, the various endings of the Npl. and Gpl. occur in combinations characteristic of the four noun declensions:

Napl.	Gpl.	
брóки	брóк	trousers
очки	очки́в	eyeglasses
ворóта	ворóт	gate
клéши	клéщей	tongs, pliers

2.1.1.7 *Indeclinable nouns.* Russian has a fair number (about 250 in common use) of words which do not change form in the various cases, but which must be classed as nouns, because they function syntactically like nouns (i.e., they fill the same positions in sentences as do normal, declined nouns). Such nouns are mostly recent borrowings from foreign languages which end in certain vowels (/u i e/ and stressed /o a ,i/) . Compare кинó ‘movies’, пальто ‘overcoat’, таксí ‘taxi’, меню ‘menu’, радио ‘radio’, кофе ‘coffee’, бюрó ‘office’.

For the most part, indeclinable nouns are of neuter gender, excepting those that refer to male or female beings, which are accordingly masculine or feminine. Other indeclinable nouns are abbreviations which do not make a pronounceable word that fits one of the declensional patterns (e.g., CCCP /èsesér/), certain proper

names (e.g., Живáго, Ткачéнко, Черны́х), and the names of alphabetic letters and musical notes.

**2.1.1.8 Stress in nouns.** The majority of Russian nouns have fixed stress, i.e., the stress stays on the same syllable in all declensional forms. This is particularly true of nouns with stems of three or more syllables. Very few such long nouns have shifting stress.<sup>2</sup>

Nouns may have stress on the stem (stress on the stem is symbolized S), or on the ending (ending stress is symbolized E). Words with E-stress have stress on the vowel of the ending (on the first vowel of the ending in endings with more than one vowel), except on forms which have a zero ending. In forms with a zero ending and with the Isg. ending -ju of кóсть-nouns, E-stress falls on the last vowel of the stem (N.B. with a few exceptions, on the inserted vowel, if one is present).

Examples of nouns with fixed E-stress:

NA	стóл	table	столы́	эвонóк	bell	эвонкý
G	столá		столóв	эвонká		эвонкóв
P	столé		столáх	эвонké		эвонкáх
D	столú		столáм	эвонkú		эвонкáм
I	столóм		столáми	эвонkóм		эвонкáми

**2.1.1.9 Stress shift.** Though perhaps a majority of Russian nouns have fixed stress, a very large number show a difference of the position of stress in the various declensional forms. Nouns with stress shift include very many of the most common and frequently used Russian words. As stated before, the vast majority of nouns with shifting stress have stems of one, or less commonly, two syllables. The usual pattern is for all forms of the singular to have stress on one syllable and for the stress to be shifted to another syllable in the plural.

1) Stress patterns in which singular and plural contrast.

ES (ending stress in the singular, stem stress in the plural)—to this group belong many женá-nouns and a large number of окнó-nouns.

Examples:

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
N	женá	wife	жёны	
A	женú		{ жён	
G	жены́		письмó	letter

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{письма} \\ \text{писем} \end{array} \right.$$

P	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{женé} \\ \text{D} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right.$	жёнах жёнам женой	письме́ письму́ письмом	пíсьмах пíсьмам пíсьмами
---	--	-------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------------

SE (stem stress in the singular, ending stress in the plural)—this type characterizes many *стóл*-nouns and a fair number of *окнó*-nouns. All *стóл*-nouns with the ending *-a* in the Npl. (excepting those that add */j/* or the suffix *-on(o)k-* ~ *-at-* to the stem in the plural) belong to this class, as do all but one of the mixed declension neuters like *íмя*.

Examples:

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
NA	дóм	house	домá	слóво
G	дóма		домóв	слóва
P	дóме		домáх	слóве
D	дóму		домáм	слóбу
I	дóмом		домáми	слóвом

	Sg.	Pl.
NA	íмя	именá
G		имён
P	íмени	именáх
D		именáм
I	íменем	именáми

S → (stress retained on the stem in all forms, but shifted one syllable toward the end of the word in the plural)—nouns with S → stress are a small, not very important group including a few *стóл*- and *окнó*-type nouns, and the mixed declension neuter *зnamя* ‘banner’.

Examples:

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
NA	бóзеро	lake	оzёра	кóлос
G	бóзера		оzёр	кóлоса
P	бóзере		оzёрах	кóлосе
D	бóзеру		оzёрам	кóлосу
I	бóзером		оzёрами	кóлосом

← S (stress retained on the stem, but shifted toward the beginning in the plural forms)—this type comprises only those *стóл*-nouns which have the stem suffix *-in-* and have the stress on the

suffix, e.g., Nsg. армянѝн, Npl. армѧне, ‘Armenian’. An exception is господѝн ‘Mr., sir’ which has SE-stress.

2) Stress patterns in which stress shifts within the singular and/or plural forms—we call such stress patterns “mixed,” symbolized M.

Singular mixed pattern: stem stress on the accusative singular (and on the nominative singular if it is identical in form with accusative singular); all other cases have ending stress. Plural mixed pattern: stem stress on the nominative plural (and on the accusative plural if it is identical in form with the nominative plural); all other cases have ending stress. The number of nouns with mixed stress patterns is small, but they include a few nouns of very frequent usage.

SM (stem stress in singular, mixed stress in plural)—this group includes a fair number of стóл- and кóсть-nouns; also the stem-changing neuters óко ‘eye’ and ýxo ‘ear’.

Examples:

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
NA	кáмень	stone	кáмни		двéрь	door	двéри
G	кáмня		камнéй				дверéй
P	кáмне		камнáх		{		дверáх
D	кáмню		камнáм		{		дверáм
I	кáмнем		камнáми		двéрью		дверáми

EM (ending stress in singular, mixed stress in plural)—a few женá-type nouns, three or four стóл-nouns and one окнó-noun (плечó ‘shoulder’) are included in this group.

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
N	свеча́	candle	{ свéчи		ко́нь	horse	ко́ни
A	свечу́		свечéй		{ конá		{ конéй
G	свечи́		свеча́х		{ конé		кона́х
P	{ свечé		свеча́м		коно́		кона́м
D			свеча́ми		коно́м		кона́ми
I	свечóй						

MS (mixed stress in singular, stem stress in plural) occurs as an alternate pattern in a few женá-nouns.

ME (mixed stress in singular, ending stress in plural) includes three стóл-nouns: ýгол ‘corner’, ýзел ‘knot’, ýгорь ‘eel’.

MM (mixed stress in both singular and plural) includes a small group of женá-nouns.

	Sg.	hand	Pl.
N	рукá		
A	рúку		{ рúки
G	рукí		рúк
P			рукáх
D	{ рукé		рукáм
I	рукóй		рукáми

A very few nouns (about fifteen) which have stem stress in the plural, change stem stress to ending stress in the genitive plural. In most of these nouns the ending in that form (Gpl.) is zero, so that this entails a further automatic shift from zero ending to stem-final syllable.

Npl.	Gpl.	
дéти	детéй	children
люди	людéй	people
бвци	овéц	sheep
кольца	колéц	rings

It should be borne in mind that there is some variation in usage in regard to stress patterns. The patterns SE and ES, to which the vast majority of nouns with shifting stress belong, tend to spread at the expense of the less common mixed ones.

A good rule of thumb to remember is that женá-nouns tend to shift stress from ending to stem (ES), стóл- and кóсть-nouns from stem to ending (SE, SM), while окнó-nouns shift in both directions (SE, ES).

The locative endings -ú, -í are *always* stressed, without regard to what type of noun it occurs with. The Isg. ending -ju of кóсть-nouns is never stressed, stress falling on the syllable preceding it, if the word in question has E-stress.

Masculine nouns with the endings -á in the nominative plural always have E-stress in all cases of the plural, except for the few nouns denoting inanimate beings whose stems add /j/ in the plural and nouns with the suffix -on(o)k- ~ ,at-. For example, лéс: лесá 'forest', учитель: учителá 'teacher', мýж: мужъя 'husband', but крюк: крючья 'hook', телёнок: теля́та 'calf'.

### 2.1.2 Adjectives

The adjective has the most complete array of forms of any nominal word; the true adjective has case forms in all three genders and both numbers. A particular gender is not inherent in the adjective

as it is in the noun. Rather, the gender form of the adjective (as well as its case and number) is typically determined by the noun to which it is attributed or otherwise in agreement. Exceptionally, when an adjective occupies a syntactic noun slot, its case, like that of the noun, is determined by its syntactic function, and its gender and number by other factors, e.g., its referent in the external world. Certain items traditionally called pronouns, e.g., possessive modifiers, demonstratives, etc. (2.1.2.4) are properly classified as adjectives, since both in their array of forms and in their syntactic function they correspond more closely to the adjective than to the pronoun.

**2.1.2.1** *Comments on the adjective and its endings.* Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in regard to case, number (singular or plural), and in the singular also in regard to gender (masculine, neuter, or feminine). The adjective has but one form in each case of the plural, gender being distinguished only in the singular. In the masculine accusative and plural accusative, the form used is that of the nominative or genitive, depending on whether the noun modified is inanimate or animate.

Full declension adjectives (i.e., those not of mixed declension, see 2.1.2.4), except for their short forms (treated in 2.1.2.3) have fixed stress either on the stem or on the first vowel of the ending. Stems ending in a palatalized consonant have only stem stress.

When the ending is stressed, the masculine singular nominative ending is *-ój*. Unstressed, many speakers have the regular replacement */a<sub>j</sub>/*, but many others, following the spelling, replace it with *-ij*. The spelling is stressed *-ој*; unstressed *-ый~--ий*.

In the genitive singular masculine and neuter adjective endings there is the spelling *-оро~--еро*, irregular in that *г* here always represents the sound */v/*, the ending being *-ово*. The neuter NA ending *-оjo* is spelled *-ое~--ее*. The final unstressed vowel of this ending, morphophonemically *-ojo*, is realized by some speakers as */a/* and by others as */i/*, in accord with the statement in section 1.2.5.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, as many speakers pronounce the nominative plural ending (spelled *-ые~--ие*) as */ija/* rather than the currently prescribed */iji/*, we transcribe this ending morphophonemically *-ijo*, recording the same individual variation in the rendition of the final unstressed vowel.

As in женá-nouns, in the adjective the feminine instrumental has a variant which extends the normal ending by adding */u/*. This variant is used in some formal and written styles (e.g., feminine instrumental *худо́й~худо́ю*; *похóжей~похóжею*, etc.).

TABLE 3. ADJECTIVE ENDINGS

		Stems in velar /k g x/ (become palatalized before initial i of endings)					
	Endings	Stressed Endings	Unstressed Endings	Stems in /š ž/	Stems in C,		
Sg.		bad, thin <i>-jo</i> <i>-ij</i> ~ <i>-ij</i>	худое худой ~	old старое старый ~	similar похожее похожий ~	big большое большой ~	summer лётнее лётний ~
NAn		inan. like G <i>-vo</i>	худого	старого	похожего	большого	братьев
Nm		anim. like G <i>-om</i>	худом	старом	похожем	большим	братьев
Am		anim. like G <i>-om</i>	худому	старому	похожему	большому	братьев
Gm/n			худым	старым	похожим	большим	братьев
Pm/n			худым	старая	похожая	большая	братьев
Dm/n			худую	старую	похожую	большую	братьев
Im/n			худой	старой	похожей	большой	братьев
Nf		-aja	худая	старая	похожая	большая	братьев
Af		-uju	худую	старую	похожую	большую	братьев
GPDf		-oij	худой	старой	похожей	большой	братьев
Pl.							
N		-ijo	худые	старые	похожие	большие	лётные
A		inan. like G <i>-vo</i>	худые ~	~	~	~	~
GP		anim. like G <i>-ix</i>	худых	старых	похожих	больших	лётных
D			худым	старым	похожим	большим	лётным
I			худыми	старыми	похожими	большими	лётными

In the case of stems ending in /š ž/, the spelling of endings with -и represents, of course, a pronunciation /i/, not /, i/.

**2.1.2.2 Substantivized adjectives.** Some words which function syntactically as nouns have adjective endings: For example, портной 'tailor' has adjective forms (masculine forms in the singular; note that there is a separate word портниха with noun endings, to designate a female tailor), or насекомое 'insect' (neuter adjective forms in the singular).

Кошка боялась насекомого. The cat was afraid of the insect.

Some family names, such as those containing the suffix /-sk-/, have adjectival form. For example, Толстой 'Tolstoy', Чайковский 'Tchaikovsky'; Я видел Толстого 'I saw Tolstoy', Мы говорили о Чайковском 'We talked about Tchaikovsky'.

**2.1.2.3 Short adjective endings.** Short adjective endings are the same as noun endings (masculine стол, neuter окно, feminine женá).

Many adjectives, in addition to their normal long forms, have a set of nominative short forms, which are used only predicatively (sometimes with a slightly different meaning nuance). Such short forms often have a different stress from the corresponding long forms.

If the long forms stress the stem, the same stress may be retained in the short forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
красивый	красив	красиво	красива	красивы	beautiful
крепкий	крепок	крепко	крепка	крепки	strong

Very frequently the ending will be stressed in the feminine short form and the stem in the remainder of the forms; if the stem is disyllabic and stressed on the second syllable in the long form, stress will be shifted to the first syllable of the non-feminine short forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
холодный	холоден	холодно	холодна	холодны	cold
слабый	слаб	слабо	слаба	слабы	weak

Less frequently, the short forms have ending stress in all forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
умный	умён	умно	умна	умны	clever
высокий	высок	высокó	высокá	высокí	high

If the long forms stress the ending, the short forms usually show ending stress in the feminine, with stem stress (on initial syllable) in the remaining forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
молодой	молод	молодо	молодá	молоды

However, less frequently, the short forms may all retain ending stress:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
больной	болен	больно	больна́	больны́

The current tendency favors the increasing use of the full forms at the expense of the short forms.

The short adjective forms are used only as a part of the predicate (i.e., separated from the noun they modify by some form of the verb *быть*, including its zero present), while the full forms can be used both predicatively and attributively (i.e., directly with the nouns they modify).

**2.1.2.4 Mixed adjective declension.** This declension has short noun-like endings in the NA (except when the A is like the G, i.e., when modifying animate nouns); long endings in the remaining forms. Except for those with special adjective ending stress (see below), mixed declension adjectives have fixed stem stress.

The mixed adjective declension includes the following items:

1) Possessive adjectives in *-in-* and *-ov-*. There are a few adjectives in common use made by adding the suffix *-in-* to the stems of женá-nouns. These adjectives are derived from personal names or kinship terms and indicate possession: Кóля 'Nick', Кóлин 'Nick's'. There are also similar adjectives made by adding the suffix *-ov-* to the stems of стóл-nouns, but they are rare and archaic: цárь 'czar' → царёв 'of the czar'.

		masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
short	N	тётина	тётино	тётина	тётины
	A	aunt's (like N or G)		тётина тётину	(like N or G)
long	G	тётиного			{ тётиных
	P	(о) тётином		{ тётиной	тётиным
	D	тётиному			тётиными
	I	тётиным			

2) J-stem adjectives (with inserted /i/ in Nsg.m.) include only the ordinal number трéтий 'third' and a few possessives derived from designations for animals or persons: рыбíй 'fish's', вдóвий 'widow's'. These adjectives have an inserted vowel /i/ in the masculine nominative and a stem terminating in /j/: *tr,et(i)j-*.

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
N	трéтий		трéтья	трéтъи
A	(like N or G)	{ трéтье	трéтью	(like N or G)
G	трéтьего			
P	(o) трéтьем			{ трéтъих
D	трéтьему		{ трéтьей	трéтъим
I	трéтым			трéтъими

3) The possessive modifiers: *наш*, *вáш*, *мóй*, *твóй*, *свóй*, *чéй* (stem *čj-*; inserted /e/ in nominative sg. masc.)—all except *наш* and *вáш* have special adjective ending stress. That is, they stress the last (or only) syllable of the ending excepting in the Ipl. and the alternate Isg. fem., where they stress the first syllable of the ending. Words with palatalized stem-final consonant (here /j/) and special adjective ending stress take the ending *-éj-* (alternate Isg. fem. *-éju-*) in the GPD Isg. fem. (rather than the expected *-oj-*).

4) The pronominal adjectives *cáM*, *одíн*, *этот*, *тóт*, *вéсь* present the following peculiarities (see the table of declensions opposite):

(a) All but *этот* have special adjective ending stress: *cáM* retracts stress to the stem in the Npl. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, *-ej-* occurs after a palatalized consonant in conjunction with ending stress (in *вéсь*).

(b) In the Nsg. masc., *одíн* and *вéсь* have inserted vowel /i/ and /e/, while *этот* and *тóт* extend their stem by /-ot-/.

(c) In the forms where the ending normally begins with /i/ (Isg. masc. and neuter and all plural forms), the stem-final consonant is palatalized (except for *вéсь*, where it is palatalized in *all* forms) and in *тóт* and *вéсь*, /e/ is substituted for /i/ in those endings.

(d) *cáM* has an archaic alternate Asg. fem. *самоё*, besides the more usual *самý*.

5) Family names in *-ov-* and *-in-* are declined as adjectives except that the masc. has short endings in all forms but the I, the fem. has short endings in NA, and the plural in N (there is, of course, no neuter in such names).

TABLE 4. DECLENSION OF ЭТОТ, ТОГДА, ОДИН, ВЕСЬ, САМ

один, весь have inserted vowel; ет-, т- have stem extension -от-		STEMS: <i>et-</i> <i>odn-</i> <i>t-</i> <i>vs-</i> , -		8 am- <i>t</i> , - <i>v8</i> , - <i>sam</i> , - (palatalized stem-final C)		тот, весь have /е/ as initial vowel of ending. STEMS: <i>et</i> , - <i>odn</i> , - <i>t</i> , - <i>v8</i> , - <i>sam</i> , -
N	masciline	neuter	feminine	plural		
	ЭТОТ одн <sup>о</sup> тот весь сам	Это одн <sup>о</sup> тот всё сам <sup>о</sup>	Эта одн <sup>а</sup> та вс <sup>я</sup> сам <sup>а</sup>	Эти одн <sup>ы</sup> те вс <sup>ё</sup> сам <sup>и</sup>	N	
A	N ~ G				A	
G	Этого одног <sup>о</sup> всег <sup>о</sup> тог <sup>о</sup> самог <sup>о</sup>		Этой одн <sup>ой</sup> той <sup>й</sup> сам <sup>ой</sup>	Этих одн <sup>ых</sup> тёх <sup>х</sup> сам <sup>ых</sup>	G	
P	Этом одн <sup>ом</sup> всём тот <sup>ом</sup> сам <sup>ом</sup>				P	
D	Этому одн <sup>ому</sup> всему тому <sup>му</sup> самому			Этим одн <sup>ым</sup> тём <sup>м</sup> сам <sup>ым</sup>	D	
I	Этим одн <sup>ым</sup> сам <sup>ым</sup> тём <sup>м</sup> всём			(этого одн <sup>ого</sup> тобо <sup>ю</sup> вс <sup>ё</sup> ю сам <sup>о</sup> ю)*	I	

\*alternate forms

	masc.	fem.	plural	
N	Козлóв	Козлóва	Козлóвы	noun endings
A	Козлóва	Козлóву	Козлóвых	adjective endings
G	Козлóва	Козлóвой	Козлóвых	
P (o)	Козлóве		Козлóвым	
D	Козлóву		Козлóвыми	
adjective endings	I Козлóвым			

### 2.1.3 Pronouns

True pronouns are only the personal and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns alone among nominal words distinguish the categories of person: first person, the category of the speaker and his group, and second person, the category of the addressee, versus third person, the category of all others (non-speaker, non-addressee). There are separate first and second person pronouns for the two numbers, but gender is not distinguished. The third person pronoun, like the adjective, has a full array of forms for the three genders and both numbers. The interrogative pronouns are animate ("who," including animals) and inanimate ("what") and have only singular form.

#### 2.1.3.1 Personal pronouns.

	1 sg.	2 sg.	reflexive	1 pl.	2 pl.
N	я́	ты́	—	мы́	вы́
AG	меня́	тебя́	себя́	на́с	ва́с
P	мнé	тебé	себé	на́с	ва́с
D	мнé	тебé	себé	на́м	ва́м
I	мно́й	тобо́й	собо́й	на́ми	ва́ми

(alternate I forms мнóю, тобо́ю, собо́ю, exist in formal style)

	3 masc.	3 neuter	3 fem.	3 pl.
N	о́н	оно́	она́	они́
AG	егó		её	íх
P	нём		ней	нýх
D	емý		ей	íм
I	íм		ей, ёю	íми

The forms *íx*, *ím*, *ími* are pronounced by some /jíx/, jím, jím, i/, but by most speakers without the initial /j/ (but with initial /i/). When a pronoun is the object of a preposition, /n./ replaces the initial /j/ of the pronoun (or is prefixed to /, íx, , ím, , ím, i/). Thus, G eró, but у негó; I ími, but с нíми. The prepositional form, which always occurs as object of a preposition, is given in the above table with initial /n./.

The third person possessive modifiers, егó ‘his, its’, еë ‘her, its’, их ‘their’, are the genitive of the personal pronouns and are, of course, indeclinable. The remaining possessive modifiers, мóй, твóй, свóй, наш, вáш, and чéй, are mixed declension adjectives.

### 2.1.3.2 *Interrogative pronouns.*

N	кто́	что́ / štó/
A	когó /kavó/	что́
G	когó	чегó /čivó/
P	кóм	чём
D	комý	чёмý
I	кéм	чéм

The interrogative pronouns, like other interrogative words (adverbs, adjectives) combine with certain affixes and particles which add a meaning component (e.g., negative *n*, *i*-, indefinite *-to*); thus никтó ‘no one’ кто́-то ‘someone’ (cf. *нигдé* ‘nowhere’ etc.).

In terms of agreement with its predicate, кто́ is masc. sg. and что́ is neuter sg. Кто́ refers to living beings; что́ to inanimate items.

2.1.3.3 *A note on pronoun stems and endings.* The first and second person pronouns have suppletive forms. The third person personal pronouns have the endings of the mixed adjective declension with special ending stress (and the fem. I ending -éj- after a palatalized consonant). The only exception is the GA of the feminine pronoun (еë). Genitive and accusative personal pronoun forms are identical, since pronouns usually refer to animate entities. The stem of the third person personal pronouns shows suppletion. It is *on-* in the Nsg., *on*, - in Npl.; in the non-nominative forms it is *j-* before endings beginning with *e* or *o* and /, / before endings beginning with *i* (or for some speakers /j/ before such endings), with /j/ and /, / being replaced by /n,/ when the pronoun is object of a preposition, as explained above.

The interrogative pronouns have in the oblique cases the mixed adjective endings of the masculine-neuter, with special ending

stress, and like *tót* and *béćь* substitute /e/ for /i/ in the instrumental. *Któ*, designating animates, has A like G; *čtó*, designating inanimates, has A like N. The stem of *któ* is *k-*; of *čtó*, *č-*. In the nominative forms, both have, in place of a regular ending, the extension *-to* before which /č/ → /š/ (cf. similar sporadic change of /č/ to /š/ in other items, e.g., *konéčno*, which is /kan, éšna/ for many speakers).

#### 2.1.4 The Numerals

In Russian, the numeral is a separate grammatical category. All nouns which denote a numerical quantity or order do not belong to it. Thus, grammatically speaking, such words as *ты́сяча* ‘thousand’, *миллион* ‘million’ (which are nouns), and *оди́н* ‘one’, *пे́рвый* ‘first’, and *второ́й* ‘second’ (which are adjectives) do not belong grammatically to the numeral class. Numerals distinguish at least some case endings, but do not distinguish singular versus plural (since by definition they refer only to plural quantities) and with few exceptions do not distinguish gender.

The declensions of the numerals are as follows:

	two	three	four
N	два́ m.n., двé f.	три́	четы́ре
A	(like N or G)	(like N or G)	(like N or G)
GP	двúх	трёх	четырёх
D	двúм	трём	четырём
I	двумá	тремá	четырьмá

Note the peculiar endings and stress pattern of *óba* ‘both’:

	m.n.	f.
N	óба	óбе
A	(like N or G)	
GP	обóих	обéих
D	обóим	обéим
I	обóими	обéими

The cases other than NA of *óba* in colloquial style have no separate feminine forms, the masculine and neuter forms being used in their stead. The numerals *два*, *три*, *четыре*, and *óба*, like adjectives, have in the accusative a form identical with the genitive when modifying or designating animates, but identical with the nominative when modifying or designating inanimates.

5	пять	11	оди́ннадцать	17	семна́дцать
6	шесть	12	две́надцать	18	восемна́дцать
7	сéмь	13	трина́дцать	19	девя́тна́дцать
8	вóсемь	14	четы́рнадцать	20	двáдцать
9	дéвять	15	пятна́дцать	30	три́дцать
10	дéсять	16	шестна́дцать /šisnácat,/		

The numerals from five to twenty and the numeral три́дцать 'thirty' have the singular endings of the кóсть-nouns and stress pattern M (stem stress in the N and A, ending stress in the remaining cases). Note that in the numeral the ending *-ju* is stressed. The numeral вóсемь 'eight' has an inserted vowel.

Example:

NA	дéвять	вóсемь
GPD	девя́тий	восьми́
I	девя́тъю	восемью́ or восьмью́

The numerals сóрок 'forty', девяно́сто 'ninety', and стó 'hundred' have the following declension:

NA	сóрок	девяно́сто	стó
GPD	сорока́	девяно́ста	стá

In девяно́сто there is a spelling change only.

The numerals 50, 60, 70, 80, are compound.

### 50

NA	пятьдеся́т	/p, idd, is, át/
GPD	пяти́десяти́	/p, it, id, is, it, í/
I	пятью́десятью́	/p, itjúd, is, itjú/

### 60

NA	шестьдеся́т	/šizd, is, át/
GPD	шести́десяти́	
I	шестью́десятью́	

### 70

### 80

NA	сéмьдесят	вóсемьдесят
GPD	семи́десяти́	восьми́десяти́
I	семью́десятью́	восьмью́десятью́

Note the hard C in the NA and the stress shifts.

### 200 to 900

200	две́сти	300	три́ста
-----	---------	-----	---------

400	четы́реста	700	семьсóт
500	пятьсóт	800	восемьсóт
600	шестьсóт	900	девятьсóт

The foregoing numerals are also compound and decline both parts:

NA	двéсти	трíста
G	двùхсóт	трёхсóт
P	двùхстáх	трёхстáх
D	двùмстáм	трёмстáм
I	двùмястáми	тремястáми

Note the plural-like forms of *стó* in the cases other than NA. Note too that in the cases other than NA, both parts are stressed.

Other compound numerals have stress on each part and decline each part.

27	двáдцать сéмь	118	стó восемнáдцать
53	пятьдесáт три	246	двéсти сéрок шéсть
	с двадцатио семью кóшками		with 27 cats
	пятидесáти трéм жéнам		to 53 wives
	в стá восемнáдцати домáх		in 118 houses
	для двухсóт сорокá шестí студéнтов		for 246 students

The special numeral, *полторá* ‘one and a half’, has three forms:

	m/n.	f.
NA	полторá	полúторы, (полторý)
GPDI	полýтора	

*полторá* is also sometimes combined with other numeral expressions, e.g., *полторáста*: 150.

*пóл-* ~ *полу-* ‘half’ must also be considered a numeral, since, like *двá*, *три*, etc., it requires in NA that the noun accompanying it be in Gsg. and modifying adjectives in the Npl., while in the remaining cases the noun is in the appropriate case (of the singular) and agrees with it. It has but two forms: NA *пóл-* and the remaining cases *пóлу-* or *полý-*. The spelling requires that *пол* be written together with the following noun (a hyphen is inserted if the noun begins with /l/ or a vowel (letter); however, *пóл-* retains secondary stress.

NA	пóлчасá	half hour
G	пóлучáса	
P	пóлучáсе	
D	пóлучáсу	
I	пóлучáсом	

The items *пóлдень* ‘midday’ and *пóлночь* ‘midnight’ form an exception to the above statements, in that in the NA, *дéнь* and *ночь* retain their NA forms. There is but one stress in the compound, which in the non-NA forms falls on the /u/ of *полú-*; i.e., *полúдня*, *полúночи*, etc.

In some items optional variants with undeclined *пол* in all cases occur.

**2.1.4.1 Collective numerals.** A special set of collective numerals exists from two to ten.

2	двóе	5	пáтеро	8	вóсмero
3	трóе	6	шéстеро	9	дéвятеро
4	чéтверо	7	сéмеро	10	дéсятеро

Like other numerals, the collectives do not distinguish gender or number. In the N they have an ending characteristic of the окнó-nouns (-o), while in the GPDI they have plural adjective endings. The A is like N or G depending on whether they accompany a noun denoting a living being. An example of collective numeral declension follows:

N	двóе	чéтверо
A	(like N or G)	
GP	двóйx	четверíх
D	двóйm	четверíм
I	двóйmi	четверíми

Note the stress pattern: Shift from stem in N(A) to ending in the remaining cases.

## 2.2 THE FORMATION OF ADVERBS

### 2.2.1 Non-derived adverbs

Some adverbs are not derived from other classes of words; such are unsuffixed and consist either of a single root morpheme or compounds of more than one morpheme:

бóчень	very
вслéд	v-sl, ed following, thereupon

### 2.2.2 Adverbs formed with suffix -o

Many adverbs are derived from adjectives by addition of the suffix *-o* to the adjective stem.

хорошó well	cf. хороший
похóже similarly	cf. похóжий
блестáющe sparkingly	cf. participle блестáщий

In the overwhelming majority of cases such derived adverbs have the same accent as the neuter short form of the source adjective if such exists or of the long form of the adjective if no short form exists. However, there are adverbs distinguished by place of stress on the corresponding adjective:

мертвó	in a dead manner	cf. adjective мёртво
светлó	brightly	cf. adjective свéтло

### 2.2.3 Adverbs formed with suffix -i

A lesser number of adverbs are derived by the addition of the suffix *-i* to the adjective stem, usually, but not always, in conjunction with the prefix *po-*.

по-собáчыи	in a doglike manner	cf. собáчий	dog's
по-дётски	in a childish way	cf. дётский	childish
по-рýсски	in Russian	cf. рýсский	Russian
мастерскý	skilfully	cf. мастерскóй	masterly
молодéцки	heroically	cf. молодéцкий	heroic
исторíчески	historically	cf. исторíческий	historic
нёсши	having carried (gerund)	cf. participle нёсший	

### 2.2.4 Adverbs formed with other devices

There are a few other suffixes used to form adverbs from stems of other word classes, such as *-(a)ždi* added to the stems of numerals less than five (and *od(,i)n-* 'one'): однáжды 'once', двáжды 'twice'; but these are not productive, as are the suffixes *-o* and *-i* mentioned above.

Adverbs or adverbial expressions are also formed through petrified prepositional phrases or oblique case forms of nouns. Thus, по-мóему 'in my opinion' (distinguished from the source phrase по моемý by shifted stress), верхóм 'on horseback' (cf. вéрхом, instrumental sg. of вéрх 'top, peak'), кругóм 'all around' (cf. крýгом, instrumental sg. of крýг 'circle') and спервá 'first' (from the preposition *c* plus an obsolete genitive case form of the adjective пéрвый).

## 2.3 THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

### 2.3.1 The comparative of the adjective

A very few adjectives have an attributive comparative (i.e., one used as a modifier of a noun phrase head) consisting of a single

word. All of these form their comparatives by the addition of regular adjective endings to stems, most of which differ in some irregular way from the stem of the positive and all of which contain the stem extension *-š-*.

хоро́ший	good	лúчший	<i>luč-š-</i>
плохóй	bad	{ худшíй	<i>xud-š-</i>
худóй	thin		
мáлый	little	мéньши́й	<i>m, en, -š-</i>
большóй	big	бóльши́й	<i>bol, -š-</i> (same stem; shift of stress)

In this group too belong the special comparatives of *стáрый* 'old' and *молодóй* 'young'; *стárши́й* 'senior' (in age or rank), and *млáдши́й* 'junior' (in age or rank); comparative stems *star-š-*, *mlad-š-*.

All other adjectives make their attributive comparative by a construction combining the adverb *бóлее/ból, ij/* 'more' with the positive form of the adjective.

бóлее нóвый дóм a newer house

A large number of adjectives have, in addition, a short indeclinable predicate comparative made by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem.<sup>4</sup> These include the following:

1) *-ejo-*, spelled *-ee*. The final unstressed vowel is realized by some speakers as */a/*, by others as */i/*, in accordance with the morphophonemic rules of vowel replacement discussed in section 1.2.5; in colloquial speech often abbreviated to */-ej-/* (and sometimes spelled *-ей*). If the feminine short form ending is stressed, this comparative suffix is stressed upon its first vowel. Otherwise, the stress of the positive is retained. Stem-final velar consonant undergoes J-change before this suffix; other consonants are automatically palatalized before it.

fem. short form	comparative
новá	новéе
веселá	веселéе
красíва	красíвее
старá	старéе

2) *-o*, spelled *-e* and pronounced as */a~i/*. This suffix is never stressed; stress always falls on the immediately preceding syllable. Before it, stem-final consonant undergoes J-change, if susceptible to such change; otherwise it undergoes palatalization. The principal adjectives making the comparative in this fashion

follow:

дорогóй	dear	дорóже
стрóгий	strict	стрóже
молодóй	young	молóже
богáтый	rich	богáче
густóй	thick	гúше
простóй	simple	прóще
чáстый	frequent	чáше
чýстый	clean	чýше
тихíй	quiet	ти́ше
крéпкий	strong, firm	крéпче
грóмкий	loud	грóмче
лёгкий	light	лёгче
мягкий	soft	мягче
сухóй	dry	сúше
жárкий	hot	жárче
яркий	bright	ярче
горький	bitter	горчe
мелкий	shallow, small	мéльчe
дешёвый	cheap	дешéвле

Some adjectives drop a final /g/, /k/, or /ok/ from the stem before subjecting the final consonant to J-change and adding -o to form the short comparative.

высóкий	high	вы́ше
широкий	broad	шире
ни́зкий	low	ни́же
у́зкий	narrow	у́же
блíзкий	near	блíже
корóткий	short	корóче
рédкий	rare	рéже

пóздний ‘late’ drops stem-final /n,/ before the suffix; thus, пóзже. Alternately, the suffix -ejo is added to the full stem пóзднее. A few adjectives add -š- before the suffix (with palatalization of the preceding /n/ or /l/).

ранний	early	раньшe
--------	-------	--------

Some first drop /k g ok/ and then add -š-.

далёкий	far	дáльше
тонкий	thin	тóньше
долгий	long	дóльше

The adjective глубóкий ‘deep’ has the predicate comparative глúбже, which apparently represents the dropping of /ok/ and an

irregular progressive assimilation of -š- to the preceding voiced consonant.

All adjectives with one-word attributive comparatives mentioned above, except плохой and худой, have predicative comparatives with the suffix *-o*.

лучший	better	лучше
меньший	smaller	меньше
больший	bigger	больше
старший	senior	старше
младший	junior	младше

The predicative comparative of худой ‘bad’ is хуже (J-change plus *-o*). The predicative comparative of худой ‘thin’ is худее (-ejo).

The introductory material to D. N. Ušakov’s dictionary (только-вый словарь русского языка, Vol. I, Moscow, 1935–40, reprint ACLS) contains a complete list of comparatives in *-o*.

### 2.3.2 Comparative of adverbs

The above described short predicative adjective comparatives are basically (and historically) adverbial forms whose function has been extended to adjectival predicate complement. Hence, they also serve as comparatives of the corresponding adverbs. Further, most adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-o* may have a comparative construction with более analogous to the attributive comparative construction of adjectives.

The variants более, больше ‘more’, comparative of много ‘much, very’, the adverb corresponding to большой ‘big’, and менее, меньше ‘less’, comparative of the adverb мало ‘little’, show this distinction—больше, меньше occur only as heads of an adverb phrase D, while более, менее occur primarily as attributes to another adverb or adjective.

Он будет больше думать и меньше говорить	He'll think more and talk less
более интересный менее трудный	more interesting less difficult

### 2.3.3 The superlative of the adjective

1) The superlative in Russian is expressed by a construction involving the positive form of the adjective preceded by the adjective сáмый.

самая новая книга	the newest book
самый старый стол	the oldest table

With хоро́ший, плохóй, ма́ленький, and большóй, the superlative may be formed by using the comparative rather than the positive in construction with сáмый. Thus:

сáмый хоро́ший	or	сáмый лúчший	the best
сáмое большóе		сáмое бóльшее	the biggest

2) The superlative may also be expressed by the adverb наибóлее plus the positive form (either long or short form, if predicative).

наибóлее враждéбные племенá	the most hostile tribes
Этот вопрóс наибóлее вáжен.	This question is the most important.

This is a more bookish form than the preceding.

3) Finally, there may be formed, in the colloquial language, a predicative superlative consisting of the short predicate comparative plus всегó, всéх ‘of all’:

Этот вопрóс важнéе всéх!	This question is the most important.
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#### 2.3.4 The superlative of the adverbs

The superlative of the adverb is not frequently encountered. It can be formed in two ways, corresponding to the last two types of adjective comparative above: (1) By placing наибóлее ‘most’ before the positive form (наибóлее обычновéнно ‘most usual’), or (2) by placing всегó, всéх ‘of all’ after the short comparative forms (Лúчше всегó он говорíт по-рúсски ‘He speaks Russian best of all’).

#### 2.3.5 Other forms related to the comparative and superlative

The prefix *po-* is sometimes added to the short comparative, in which case the meaning is ‘a bit more . . . , a little more . . . ’ either as a predicate adjective or as an adverb.

постарéе	a bit older
похолоднéе	a little colder

The superlative prefix *naj-* is added to больши́й, боле́е, мéнши́й, мéнее, вы́сши́й, лúчши́й, and rarely to certain other adjectives and adverbs. These forms are not in colloquial use, but are bookish.

The prefix *pr., e-* added to the positive form of an adjective or adverb expresses the meaning ‘very, extremely’. It too is bookish.

пребольшóй	very big
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The suffix *-ejš-* added to the stem of the positive form makes declinable adjectives (with no short form) with the meaning ‘very, extremely’.

The suffix is stressed under the same conditions (see section 2.3.1) that apply to the suffix *-ejo-* of the short comparative, namely if the feminine short form of the positive has the ending stressed.

новый	new	новейший
интересный	interesting	интереснейший

If the stem of the positive form ends in /k,g,x/, J-change takes place and the form of the suffix is */-ajš-/*.

высокий	high	высочайший
строгий	strict	строжайший
тихий	quiet	тишайший

Forms with this suffix are essentially bookish and not characteristic of colloquial usage. Adverbs with this suffix plus the suffix *-o* exist, but are again essentially bookish:

строжайше      most strictly

## 2.4 THE VERB

The class of verbs is defined as those words which occur with those inflectional suffixes (endings and formants) listed in section 2.4.1. The verb paradigm contains both finite (inflected) forms, such as the present tense, and non-finite (uninflected) forms, such as the infinitive. Another dichotomy is between true verbal forms, which can function in the verb slot of the simple sentence (i.e., the present-future tense, the past tense, and the imperative) versus quasi-verbal forms which may simultaneously fulfill syntactic functions characteristic of both true verbs and other word classes (i.e., participles are verbal adjectives, gerunds are verbal adverbs, the infinitive has various nominal functions, etc.). When inflected, quasi-verbs take adjective (participles) or noun (the verbal noun) endings. The infinitive alone sometimes functions marginally in the verb slot of the simple sentence; the syntactic function of the quasi-verbs is discussed in section 3.4.

The true verbal forms, except for the imperative, which neutralizes tense, manifest the tense distinction present-future (or non-past, the semantically unmarked category) versus past. The present versus future distinction within the non-past is discussed in section 2.5. The quasi-verbal participles and adjectives also manifest the present (non-past) versus past distinction. However, in

this case present versus past signifies not "simultaneous with" versus "prior to" the moment of speaking (as in the finite verb forms), but "simultaneous with" versus "prior to" the time of action indicated by the tense of the main verb. The present-future tense forms manifest the categories of person (as in the pronouns) and number. The past tense forms (which historically were participles) manifest the categories gender and number. The imperative manifests number only; tense and person are neutralized, though usually the imperative refers only to the addressee, the second person; hortatory forms for other persons are supplied by constructions or special forms.

Not every verb has a full array of forms. Some lack one or another of the participles or gerunds (passive participles occur only in transitive verbs; present participles and gerunds in imperfective verbs; past participles and gerunds typically, but not exclusively, in perfective verbs), while some verbs ("impersonal verbs") appear only in the third person singular, maximally unmarked with respect to indication of actor. A complete array of verb forms includes the following:

1) Present-future form group:

all present-future (pres-fut.) tense forms

the present active and present passive participles (pres. act.

part., pres. pass. part.)

imperative (imp.)

present gerund (pres. ger.)

Note that not all forms of the present-future group manifest the tense category.

2) Infinitive form group:

infinitive (inf.)

all past tense forms (past)

past gerund

past active participle (past act. part.)

past passive participle (past pass. part.)

verbal noun (vb. n.)

Russian verbs are divided into two conjugations (I and II) which have different endings in the present-future tense and different formants in the present participles; the conjugation distinction is neutralized in the remaining forms. First conjugation verbs are much more numerous than second conjugation verbs.

The Russian verb stems, to which the formants and/or endings are attached, undergo various changes described below. When a verb shows any change of stem, usually one alternate occurs with the present-future group and the other with the infinitive group.

Most importantly, verb stems can be divided into those which in the present-future form group drop the final stem formative vowel suffix (hereafter termed "stem vowel") of the infinitive form group and those which maintain a substantially stable stem in both form groups. Stem vowel dropping verbs include all second conjugation and many first conjugation verbs. Stable stem verbs of the first conjugation include verbs with a stable stem vowel (-a- or -e-) in the present-future form group and in the infinitive group as well as "root verbs" whose stems consist of a root morpheme without stem vowel extension. The root may end in consonant or vowel, but verbs whose stable stem ends in a vowel (whether it be a root-final vowel or a stem vowel) automatically add a /j/ (~ /v/ after /Ci/) in the presnt-future form group, as described in section 2.4.3.

The constituents and forms of the Russian verb are discussed below. Endings and formants (2.4.1) are first given, followed by a listing of stem types (2.4.2) divided by conjugation and assigned a numbering system correlated with the examples in the sample paradigms (Table V) and the table illustrating stress variation (Table VI). Then, stem suffixes (2.4.4) and stem-final vowel extensions (stem vowels) are listed (2.4.5). Morphophonemic changes affecting stem-final consonants (2.4.6) and the limited changes affecting the root in root verbs and a few a-dropping verbs (2.4.7-8) are then treated. Finally, a listing of various irregularities completes the description of verb inflection (2.4.9). Sample paradigms illustrating the constituents and forms of the Russian verb are shown in Table V. Productivity of stem types (2.4.10), stress alternation patterns (2.4.11), aspectual derivation (2.4.12-13), and aspectual meaning and usage (2.5) are treated separately.

#### 2.4.1 Verb endings and formants

##### 1) Present-future (1 sg. through 3 pl.)

I	Conjugation	II	
-u		-u	(preceded by J-change of stem C in Conj. II)
-, oš		-, iš	(ъ is purely orthographic in the spelling of the endings -ешь, -иши)
-, ot		-, it	
-, om		-, im	
-, ot, i		-, it, i	
-ut		-, at	

## 2) Present active participle

I	Conjugation	II	
-ušč-		-, ašč-	(plus adjective endings or adverb suffix -i)
3) Present passive participle		-, im-	(plus adjective endings)

## 4) Imperative

formant	plus	ending
-,-~-, i-~∅	+	sg. -∅ or pl. -t, i

The formant *-i-* occurs (a) after certain clusters, (b) when the imperative formant bears stress, and (c) in verbs with the prefix *vi-* (stressed) whose basic verb had a stressed imperative; *-,-* occurs elsewhere, except after /k g/, where there is zero.

5) Present gerund formant: *-a.*

6) Past passive participle and verbal noun formant. In second conjugation verbs which drop *-i-* in the present-future group, the past passive participle and verbal noun are formed on the stem of the present-future group. Some verbs with the suffix *-n(u)-* form their verbal noun on the present-future stem, as do exceptionally a very few other verbs. All other verbs, of course, form the past passive participle and verbal noun on the stem of the infinitive group. The formant variants follow:

(a) *-on- ~ -en-:* after first conjugation stems ending in a consonant other than /r/ and after second conjugation *i*-dropping stems (*-on-* occurs in the participle and *-en-* in the verbal noun because of following palatalization in the latter form).

(b) *-n-:* after stem vowel suffix *-a-* and *-e-*.

(c) *-t-:* after first conjugation stems ending in /r/, in /ə/ which alternates with nasal consonant, and in vowels other than stem vowel suffix *-a-* or *-e-*.

The past passive participle adds adjective endings (short and long) to this formant. The verbal noun adds an additional formant *-ij-* (-j- in colloquial usage) plus OKHÓ-type noun endings. The formant *-on-* undergoes change of its vowel to /e/ conditioned by the palatalization of the following consonant when *-ij- ~ -j-* is added.

## 7) Infinitive formant:

*-č:* after stems ending in /k g/, otherwise;

*-t, i:* if verb has ending stress (occurs only in stems ending in a

consonant) or has stressed prefix *vi-* and derives from a basic verb with ending stress, or;

-*t*, : in all other verbs (the vast majority)

Before this formant, the following changes affect stem-final consonants: /k g/ are dropped, /t d b/ become /s/ except in the verb *идти* ‘to go’; stems ending in /r/ add -*e-*, stems with the root -*šib*- add -*i-*.

8) Past tense: The formant is -*l-* plus short adjective nominative endings; the formant becomes -*l*, in the plural; result:

m. -l-ø f. -l-a n. -l-o pl. -l,-i

If the verb stem ends in a consonant, -*l-* is replaced by zero before the ø-ending (masculine form). Before this formant, /t d/ are dropped.

9) Past active participle: The formant is -*š-* after a consonant, -*v*+*š-* (realized as /fš/) after a vowel, plus adjective endings or the adverb ending -*i*. Before this formant, /t d/ may be dropped.

10) Past gerund formant: -*v* (occurs only after stems ending in a vowel).

## 2.4.2 Stem types

See numerically correlated sample paradigms (Table V) as well as section 2.4.11 with accompanying table of stress shifts (Table VI).

### 2.4.2.1 Conjugation I.

#### [1.1] Root verbs

[1.1.1] Root: CVC: *нести* ‘to carry’, *пасть* ‘to fall’, *печь* ‘to bake’. Verbs with the root -*šib*- extend their stem by -*,i-* in the infinitive (ошибиться ‘to make a mistake’ has the present ошибусь, ошибёшься, etc., and the past ошибся, ошиблась, etc.); the stem-final consonant undergoes J-change before the past passive participle formant: ушибленный.

[1.1.1.1] Root: C(,o~ø)r: *тереть* ‘to rub’.

[1.1.2] Root: (C)CN ~ (C)C, a: *взять* ‘to take’. The root consists of one or more consonants plus a nasal consonant in the present-future group which nasal alternates with -*,a-* in the infinitive group.

[1.1.3] Root: CV, /j/ or /v/ added in the present-future group: *мыть* ‘to wash’, *жить* ‘to live’.

[1.2] Stem vowel verbs—stem vowel is stable in all forms, /j/ follows it in present-future group.

- [1.2.1] Base plus stable stem vowel *-e-*: *уметь* ‘to know how’.
- [1.2.2] Base plus stable stem vowel *-a-*: or base plus suffix *-v-* or *-iv-* plus stem vowel *-a-*: *дёлать* ‘to do’, *отрезывать* ‘to cut off’.

The following types (the remaining Conjugation I and all Conjugation II verbs) drop their stem-final vowel in the present-future group.

- [1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs

- [1.3.1] Base plus suffix *-n-* plus stem vowel *-u-*: *кинуть* ‘to throw’.

- [1.3.2.1] Base plus suffix *-ov-* plus stem vowel *-a-* in infinitive group alternating with suffix variant *-u-* in present-future group. Stem vowel dropped and stem extension /j/ added in present-future group: *слéдовать* ‘to follow’.

- [1.3.2.2-4] Root plus stem vowel *-a-* or *-o-*: *брать* ‘to take’, *писáть* ‘to write’, *колóть* ‘to jab’. One verb, *ревéть* ‘to roar’, drops stem-final *-e-* and forms its present stem forms on the stem *r, ev-*: *ревú*, *ревёшь*.

#### 2.4.2.2 *Conjugation II.*

- [2.1-3] Base plus stem vowel *-i-, -e-,* or *-a-*; stem vowel drops in present-future group: *решíть* ‘to solve’, *любíть* ‘to love’, *смотрéть* ‘to look at’, *держáть* ‘to hold’.

#### 2.4.3 Stem extension in present-future group

Verbs which have a stem-final vowel in the present-future group add a stem extension in that group. This extension is /v/ after Ci and /j/ after all other vowels: *жíть*, *живú* ‘to live’, *мыть*, *мóю* ‘to wash’, *дёлать*, *дéлаю* ‘to do’, *умéть*, *умéю* ‘to know how’, *слéдовать*, *слéдую* ‘to follow’.

#### 2.4.4 Stem suffixes

Stem suffixes occur only in Conjugation I verbs: *-n(u)-*. The vowel /u/ is dropped in the present-future group: *кинуть* ‘to throw’, *вернúть* ‘to return’. A small unproductive subgroup of verbs drops this suffix in some forms of the infinitive group.

*Стáть* ‘to become, take a stand’ and *дéть* ‘to put’ drop this suffix in all forms of the infinitive group.

*-ov- ~ -u-*: The first variant in the infinitive group and the second variant in the present-future group. This is usually followed by the stem vowel *-a-* which drops in the present-future group; *слéдо-*

вать ‘to follow’. If followed by the suffix *-iv-*, the variant *-ov-* remains in all forms: *перепаковывать* ‘to be repacking’.

*-iv- ~ -v-* occurs only when followed by stem vowel *-a-*. The variant *-iv-* occurs after a consonant; *-v-* after a vowel: *переписывать* ‘to copy’, *открывáть* ‘to open’. With three roots ending in /a/ (*zna-* ‘to know’, *da-* ‘to give’, *sta-* ‘to stand’), the suffix and following stem vowel are dropped in the present-future tense and in the present active participle: *давáть* ‘to give’, *вставáть* ‘to get up’, *узнавáть* ‘to find out’. In all other cases, the suffix and following stem vowel are stable (do not drop) in all forms. Fixed stress falls on the syllable preceding the variant *-iv-* and on the syllable after the variant *-v-*.

#### 2.4.5 Stem vowels *-a-, -e-, -i-, -o-, -u-*

The vowels *-o-, -u-* occur only in first conjugation verbs, and *-u-* only in conjunction with the suffix *-n-*; *-i-* occurs only in second conjugation verbs. In Conjugation I, stem vowels *-o-* and *-u-* always drop in the present-future group and *-a-* may drop; in Conjugation II, of course, stem vowels always drop in the present-future group.

#### 2.4.6 Stem-final consonant alternation

1) Stem-final /k g/ in consonant root verbs undergo J-change before formants beginning with *,o* or *e*: *пекú—печёшь, печён,* *печéние* ‘to bake’.

2) In Conjugation II, stem-final consonant undergoes J-change before the ending of the 1 sg. present-future and the formant of the past passive participle and verbal noun: *остáвить, оставлю, оставленный* ‘to leave’.

3) In Conjugation I verbs which drop the stem vowel *-a-* (other than those where root vowel alternates with zero, as *зов-ú, зв-á-t*, ‘to call’, and those with the suffix *-ov- ~ -u-*), the root-final consonant undergoes J-change when the vowel drops (present-future group): *пишáть, пишú* ‘to write’. However, two verbs of this class with stem consonant /l/ (слáть ‘to send’, стлáть ‘to spread out’) add /,/. In *слáть* the preceding consonant undergoes J-change: *слáть, шлó.*

4) Conjugation I verbs which drop stem vowel *-o-* add /, / when the vowel is dropped: *колóть, колó* ‘to jab, stab’.

5) /j/ before a nasal consonant is replaced by /n/ when the nasal consonant is replaced by *-, a-*. This occurs in a subset of the verbs which show the alternation *N ~ -, a-* (see 2.4.8 below): *поймú, понýть* ‘to understand’.

### 2.4.7 Root vowel alternation

Root vowel alternation affects only root verbs and a small number of Conjugation I -*a*-dropping verbs.

1) -*o*- ~ Ø in a few stem -*a*-dropping verbs: зову́, зва́ть ‘to call’; -*o*- in present-future group ~ Ø in infinitive group.

2) -, *o*- ~ Ø in all root verbs with final /r/: трю́, терéть, тёр ‘to rub’; zero in present-future group ~ -, *o*- in the infinitive group.

3) -*e*- ~ Ø in a few stem -*a*-dropping verbs: беру́, бра́ть ‘to take’; -*e*- in present-future group ~ Ø in infinitive group. Also in verbs where /i/ alternates with /j/ (see 11 below)—пить, пью, пей ‘to drink’—present-future stem is *C(e)j-* with -*e*- present before zero, that is, in the imperative. However in *brij-* ‘to shave’, the -*e*- is present in all present-future stem forms to prevent the unpermitted eluster /brj/.

4) (-, *o*- ~ -*e*-) ~ Ø in идти́ (шёл, шёдший, шлá) ‘to go’ and in жéчь, жёг, жгú, ‘to burn’.

5) -, *i*- ~ Ø in сниму́, снять ‘to take off’ (-, *i*- before N) ~ (Ø before -, *a*-). See section 2.4.8. Also occurs in a few other verbs with the same root (-*n,im-* ~ -*n,a*-) and prefixes terminating in consonant.

6) -*e*- ~ -, *a*- in one eonsonant root verb: сéсть, еáду ‘to sit down’; -*e*- in infinitive group ~ -, *a*- in present-future group.

7) (-, *o*- ~ -*e*-) ~ -, *a*- in one eonsonant root verb: лёг, лéчь, лягú ‘to lie down’; -, *a*- in present-future group alternates with -, *o*- (before plain eonsonant) ~ -*e*- (before palatalized eonsonant) in the infinitive group.

8) -*i*- ~ -*o*- in a few vowel root verbs: мыть, мóю ‘to wash’; infinitive group -*i*- ~ present-future group -*o*-.

9) -*e*- ~ -*o*- in one vowel root verb: пéть, пою́ ‘to sing’; infinitive group -*e*- ~ present-future group -*o*- . Also in one stem -*o*-dropping verb: мелó, молóть, мóлотый ‘to grind’; present-future group -*e*- ~ infinitive group -*o*-.

10) -, *o*- ~ -*e*- in a number of consonant root verbs: пёк, пéчь ‘to bake’; the occurrence of -*e*- is here conditioned by the following palatalized eonsonant, i.e., the infinitive formant -č-.

11) -, *i*- (or /i/ after /š/) ~ -*j*- in a few root verbs: пить, пью ‘to drink’; infinitive group -, *i*- ~ present-future group -*j*-.

### 2.4.8 Nasal alternation

A very few root verbs have root-final nasal eonsonant (symbolized N) in the present-future group alternating with -, *a*- in the infinitive group: мну́, мя́ть ‘to knead’; жму́, жáть ‘to press’.

#### 2.4.9 Irregularities

1) Irregular stem alternation: *-jex-a* ~ *-jed-*: *éxать*, *édu* ‘to ride’.

*-bi-* ~ *-bud-*, plus anomalous present forms *éсть*, *nét*, and *ø*: *býть*, *býdu* ‘to be’.

*-kl, as-* in infinitive ~ *-kl*, *a-* in the remaining infinitive stem forms ~ *-kl*, *a-* plus nasal suffix *-n-* in present-future group: *клясть*, *клял*, *клянú* ‘to curse’.

*-tos-* (infinitive stem) ~ *-rost-* (present-future stem): *растí*, *póc*, *расту* ‘to grow’. The spelling alternation *o* ~ *a* is purely orthographic and fortuitously reflects the automatic morphophonemic change *ó* → *a*.

*-id-* (present-future group plus infinitive) ~ *-š(o~e)d-* (in remaining infinitive group forms): *иду*, *идтí*, *шёл*, *шéдший*, *шлá* ‘to go’.

*-jd-* (present-future group) ~ *-j-* (infinitive) ~ *-š(o~e)d-* (remaining infinitive group forms): *пойдú*, *пойтí*, *пошёл*, *пошлá* ‘to go (and other prefixed derivatives of *идтí*)’.

2) Various irregularities: *Бежáть* ‘to run’ forms its infinitive stem forms regularly on the stem *b, ež-a*. In the present stem, we have loss of stem vowel *-a-* and alternation of *b, ež* ~ *b, eg* (J-change). *b, eg-* appears in the 1 sg. and 3 pl. present tense and in the present active participle before first conjugation endings or formants and in the imperative: *бегу*, *бегут*, *бегущий*, *беги*, etc. The stem *b, ež-* appears in the remaining present tense forms with second conjugation endings: *бежíшь*, etc. In effect, *бежáть* functions as a second conjugation *a*-dropping verb, except for the forms with the stem variant *b, eg-* which functions as a first conjugation CVC root verb. Stress is uniformly on stem vowel *-a-*, and is found, where *-a-* is dropped, on the formant or ending.

*хотéть* ‘to wish’ functions in all forms but 1,2,3 sg. present as a second conjugation *e*-dropping verb with stem *xot, e-*, with stress uniformly on stem vowel *-e-* and, in forms where *-e-* is dropped, on the formant or ending. The singular present forms are on the stem *xoč-* (J-change of final consonant) with ending stress in 1 sg. and stem stress in 2,3 sg. The 2,3 sg. endings are spelled like first conjugation endings, but in the absence of stress, the distinction between first and second conjugation endings is neutralized in these forms: *хочу*, *хочешь*, *хочет*.

*Есть* ‘to eat’ shows the basic stem *jed-*. Except for the present tense and the present active participle, the verb functions as a CVC root verb. The imperative has the stem *jež-* (J-change of final /d/), spelled: *éшь*, *éшьте*; the past active participle and gerund lose stem-final /d/, thus *je-*: *éв*, *éвший*. The present gerund is *едá*; present passive participle *едомый*; infinitive *éсть*; past *éл*,

TABLE 5. SAMPLE PARADIGMS

*Conjugation I*

[1.1] Root verbs

		[1.1.1] Consonant verbs, root type: CVC-				
inf. stem	<i>n, о-</i>	<i>rad-</i>	<i>gr, о-</i>	<i>p, о-</i>	<i>t, о-</i>	
inf.	нести	настъ	грестъ	печь	тереть	
past m.	нёс	на -л	грёб	пёк	тёр	
f.	-ла́	-ла	-лá	-ла	-ла	
n.	-ло́	-ло	-ло	-ло	-ло	
pl.	-ли́	-ли	-ли	-ли	-ли	
past ger.	(‘)-ши	-вни	(‘)-ши	(‘)-ши	(‘)-ши	
past act. part.	(‘)-ший	-вний падший	(‘)-ший	(‘)-ший	(‘)-ший	
past pass. part.			печён(-а,-о,ы)	-ённый	-т	
short	-ён(-а,-о,ы)			-ёныи	-тый	
long	-ёnnий			-ёниe	(прение)	
vb. n.	-éние	пад-éние		-ёниe		
pres-fut. stem	<i>n, о-</i>	<i>rad-</i>	<i>gr, о-</i>	<i>p, о-</i>	<i>t, о-</i>	
1.sg.	несу́	паду́	гребу́	пеку́	тру́	
2.sg.	-ёшь	-ёшь	-ёшь	печёшь	-ёшь	
3.sg.	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	
1.p.l.	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	
2.p.l.	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	
3.p.l.	-у́т	-у́т	-у́т	пек-у́т	-у́т	
pres. act. part.	-уший	-уший	-уший	-уший	-уший	
pres. pass. part.	-омый					
imp.	-í(-re)			-í(-re)		
pres. ger.	-í(-re)			-í(-re)		

/t d b/ → /s/; /k g/ → ο in inf.  
 /t d/ → ο in past, and usually in past ger. and past act. part.

		[1.1.1.1] r-verbs, root: C(, o ~ Ø)r-				
inf. stem	<i>n, о-</i>	<i>rad-</i>	<i>gr, о-</i>	<i>p, о-</i>	<i>t, о-</i>	
inf.	нести	настъ	грестъ	печь	тереть	
past m.	нёс	на -л	грёб	пёк	тёр	
f.	-ла́	-ла	-лá	-ла	-ла	
n.	-ло́	-ло	-ло	-ло	-ло	
pl.	-ли́	-ли	-ли	-ли	-ли	
past ger.	(‘)-ши	-вни	(‘)-ши	(‘)-ши	(‘)-ши	
past act. part.	(‘)-ший	-вний падший	(‘)-ший	(‘)-ший	(‘)-ший	
past pass. part.			печён(-а,-о,ы)	-ённый	-т	
short	-ён(-а,-о,ы)			-ёныи	-тый	
long	-ёnnий			-ёниe	(прение)	
vb. n.	-éние	пад-éние		-ёниe		
pres-fut. stem	<i>n, о-</i>	<i>rad-</i>	<i>gr, о-</i>	<i>p, о-</i>	<i>t, о-</i>	
1.sg.	несу́	паду́	гребу́	пеку́	тру́	
2.sg.	-ёшь	-ёшь	-ёшь	печёшь	-ёшь	
3.sg.	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	
1.p.l.	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	
2.p.l.	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	
3.p.l.	-у́т	-у́т	-у́т	пек-у́т	-у́т	
pres. act. part.	-уший	-ушний	-ушний	-ушний	-ушний	
pres. pass. part.	-омый					
imp.	-í(-re)			-í(-re)		
pres. ger.	-í(-re)			-í(-re)		

&gt; 6 2 &lt;

*Conjugation I* (cont'd)

[1.1.2] Nasal verbs, root:  
 (C)CN ~ (C)C, a-

inf. stem	<i>vz, a-</i>	
inf.	<i>vz, a-</i>	
past m.	<i>vz, a-</i>	
f.	-л	-л
n.	-ла	-ла
pl.	-ло	-ло
past ger.	-ли	-ли
past act. part.	-в(ши)	-вши
past pass. part.	-вший	-вший
short	-т(-á,-o,-ы)	-т(-á,-o,-ы)
long	-тый	-тый
vb. n.	-тие	-тие
pres. fut. stem		
1.sg.	<i>vоз, м-</i>	<i>открою</i>
2.sg.	возмү	
3.sg.	-емъ	-емъ
1.pl.	-ёт	-ёт
2.pl.	-ём	-ём
3.pl.	-ёте	-ёте
pres. act. part.	-йт	-йт
pres. pass. part.		
imp.	-й(-те)	-й(-те)
pres. ger.	-х	-х

[1.1.3] Vowel verbs, root: (C)CV-

inf. stem	<i>ži-</i>	<i>otkrý-</i>
inf.	<i>житъ</i>	<i>откры-</i>
past m.	-л	-л
f.	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в(ши)	-вши
past act. part.	-вший	-вший
past pass. part.		
short	-т	-т(-á,-o,-ы)
long	-тый	-тый
vb. n.	-тие	-тие
pres. fut. stem		
1.sg.	<i>ži + v-</i>	<i>otkroju + j-</i>
2.sg.	житъ	открою
3.sg.	-ешъ	-ешъ
1.pl.	-ёт	-ёт
2.pl.	-ём	-ём
3.pl.	-ёте	-ёте
pres. act. part.	-йт	-йт
pres. pass. part.		
imp.	-й(-те)	-й(-те)
pres. ger.	-х	-х

пéй-*я*(-те)

-*я*(-те)

пéй-

-*я*(-те)

*Conjugation I (cont'd)*

[1.2] Stem vowel verbs  
 [1.2.1-2] Stem: Base plus stem vowel  
 -*a*- or -*e*- or base plus stem  
 suffix -*v-* or -*u-* plus stem  
 vowel -*a*-

[1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs  
 [1.3.1] Stem: base plus suffix  
 vowel -*u*, -*u-*  
 dropped in  
 pres-fut. stem

inf. stem	<i>d, el + a-</i>	<i>um + e-</i>	<i>k, i + n~u-</i>	<i>sl, ed + ov + a-</i>
inf.	<i>дéла-ть</i>	<i>умéть</i>	<i>кину-ть</i>	<i>слéдова-ть</i>
past n.	<i>-л</i>	<i>-л</i>	<i>-л</i>	<i>-л</i>
f.	<i>-ла</i>	<i>-ла</i>	<i>-ла</i>	<i>-ла</i>
n.	<i>-ло</i>	<i>-ло</i>	<i>-ло</i>	<i>-ло</i>
pl.	<i>-ли</i>	<i>-ли</i>	<i>-ли</i>	<i>-ли</i>
/ past ger.	<i>-в</i>	<i>-в</i>	<i>-вший</i>	<i>-в</i>
past act. part.				<i>-вший</i>
past pass. part.				
short	<i>-н</i>	<i>-н</i>	<i>-н</i>	<i>-н</i>
long	<i>-нны́й</i>	<i>-ниe</i>	<i>-ниe</i>	<i>-нны́й</i>
vb. n.				
pres-fut. stem	<i>d, el + a + j-</i>	<i>um + e + j-</i>	<i>k, i + n-</i>	<i>sl, ed + u + j-</i>
1.s.g.	<i>де́лано</i>	<i>умéю</i>	<i>кину</i>	<i>слéдую</i>
2.s.g.	<i>-ешь</i>	<i>-ешь</i>	<i>-ешь</i>	<i>-ешь</i>
3.s.g.	<i>-ет</i>	<i>-ет</i>	<i>-ет</i>	<i>-ет</i>
1.pl.	<i>-ем</i>	<i>-ем</i>	<i>-ем</i>	<i>-ем</i>
2.pl.	<i>-ете</i>	<i>-ете</i>	<i>-ете</i>	<i>-ете</i>
3.pl.	<i>-ют</i>	<i>-ют</i>	<i>-ют</i>	<i>-ут</i>
pres. act. part.	<i>-ющи́й</i>	<i>-ющи́й</i>	<i>-ющи́й</i>	<i>-сле́дующи́й</i>
pres. pass. part.	<i>-емы́й</i>	<i>-емы́й</i>	<i>умéй-щ-(те)</i>	<i>слéдуй-щ-(те)</i>
imp.	<i>дéлай</i>	<i>умéй</i>	<i>умéя</i>	<i>слéдуй</i>
pres. ger.	<i>дéляя</i>			

*Conjugation I.* [1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs (cont'd)

[1.3.2-4] inf. stem: root plus stem vowel (-a- or -o-),  
pres-fut. stem: root-

inf. stem	<i>br + a-</i>	<i>p, is + a-</i>	<i>kol + o-</i>
inf.	брáть	пишáть	ко́лбáть
past m.	-л	-л	-л
f.	-ла	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в(ши)	-в	-в(ши)
past act. part.	-вший	-вший	-вший
past pass. part. short	*	(')-н (')-нний	(')-т (')-тный
long	*	-тие	-тие
vb. n.			
pres-fut. stem	<i>b, er-</i>	<i>p, is-</i>	<i>kol,-</i>
1. sg.	беру	пишу	ко́лбó
2. sg.	-ёшь	(')-ешь	(')-ешь
3. sg.	-ёт	(')-ет	(')-ет
1. pl.	-ём	(')-ем	(')-ем
2. pl.	-ёте	(')-ете	(')-ете
3. pl.	-ут	(')-ут	ко́лот
pres. act. part.	-ущий	(')-ущий	ко́лбóящий
pres. pass. part. imp.	-й(-те)	-и(-те)	
pres. ger.	-я	(')-я	

no J-change: e or o  
may be inserted in  
pres-fut. stem.  
\* избрáние

stem-final C  
in pres-fut.  
stem undergoes J-change.

root is -ol-, -ol~el-, or  
-or- stem-final /l r/  
palatalized in pres-fut.  
stem; only five basic  
verbs in this class.

## Conjugation II

Stem: base plus stem vowel in inf. stem; stem vowel dropped in pres-fut. stem.

Palatalization of /r l n/, J-change of remaining consonants takes place in 1.sg. pres-fut. and  
(in verbs which use pres-fut. stem for those forms) in past pass. part. and vb. n.

### [2.1] Stem vowel -i-

inf. stem	<i>r, eš + i-</i>	<i>l, ub + i-</i>
inf.		<i>любить</i>
past m.		<i>-л</i>
f.	<i>-ла</i>	
n.	<i>-ло</i>	
pl.	<i>-ли</i>	
past ger.	<i>-в</i>	
past act. part.	<i>-вший</i>	
pres-fut. stem		<i>l, ub-</i>
past pass. part.		*
short		*
vb. n.	<i>-ённый</i>	
	<i>-ение</i>	
long		
1.sg.	<i>-ý</i>	<i>люблó</i>
2.sg.	<i>-íшь</i>	<i>лобчíшь</i>
3.sg.	<i>-йт</i>	<i>-ит</i>
1.pl.	<i>-ым</i>	<i>-им</i>
2.pl.	<i>-йте</i>	<i>-ите</i>
3.pl.	<i>-ат</i>	<i>-ят</i>
pres. act. part.		<i>-ящий</i>
pres. pass. part.		<i>-имый</i>
imp.		<i>-й(-те)</i>
pres. ger.		<i>-й</i>

\* в.люблен  
\* в.любленный

*Conjugation II* (cont'd)

[2.2] Stem vowel -e-		[2.3] Stem vowel -a-	
inf. stem	<i>smotr+</i> , e-	<i>d, erž+</i> + a-	
inf.	смотре́ть	держáть	
past m.	-л	-л	
f.	-ла	-ла	
n.	-ло	-ло	
pl.	-ли	-ли	
past ger.	-в	-в	
past act. part.	-вший	-вший	
past pass. part.	( ) -н	( ) -н	
short	( ) -ный	( ) -ный	
long	( ) -ние	( ) -ние	
vb. n.			
pres-fut. stem	<i>smotr*</i>	<i>d, erž*</i>	
1.sg.	смотре́й	держáй	
2.sg.	( ) -ишь	( ) -иши	
3.sg.	( ) -ит	( ) -ит	
1.pl.	( ) -им	( ) -им	
2.pl.	( ) -ите	( ) -ите	
3.pl.	( ) -ят	( ) -ят	
pres. act. part.	-ящий	-ящий	
pres. pass. part.			
imp.		-й(-те)	
pres. ger.		-й	

éla (with the usual morphophonemic changes of /d/ before /t, / and /l/); and past passive participle съеденный. Present tense plural forms and the present active participle are also on the stem *jed-* with second conjugation ending or formant: едим, едите, едят, едящий. The present tense singular forms have special vowel-less endings -m, -š, -t, lose stem-final /d/ before /m Š/, and show /d → s/ before /t/: ém, éšь, ést.

Except for the present tense, the verb, дать ‘to give’, functions as a CV root verb on the stem *da-*: inf. дать; past дал, далá, etc.; past passive participle даний; and imperative дай, дайте (extension of vowel stem by /j/ in present stem form). In the present tense the 1,2 plural are on the stem *dad-* with second conjugation endings, the 3 plural on *dad-* with first conjugation ending, the 3 sg. on *dad-* with vowel-less ending -t, and 1,2 sg. endings on *da-* with vowel-less -m, -š: дам, дашь, даст, дадим, дадите, дадут.

Sample paradigms (Table V) are numerically correlated to the discussion of stem types (2.4.2) and illustrate the foregoing discussion (sections 2.4.1-9).

#### 2.4.10 Productivity of verb stem types

The following verb stem types are productive (i.e., new verbs can be formed on these patterns).

[1.2.2] Non-dropping stem vowel -a-; productive in the formation of secondary imperfectives, particularly in conjunction with the suffix-variant -iv- (see 2.4.13 for examples); also productive in forming basic imperfectives from nouns, adjectives, interjections, and onomatopoeics, usually in conjunction with certain radical suffixes:

столя́р	cabinetmaker	столя́рничать	to exercise the cabinet-maker’s trade
у́мник	clever fellow	у́мничать	to play the wise guy
нё́рвный	nervous	нё́рвничать	to be nervous
мя́у	meow	мя́укать	to meow (like a cat)
ó	the sound or letter “o”	óкать	to pronounce with /o/ in unstressed syllables
áх	(interjection)	áхать	to say “ach”

[1.2.1] Non-dropping stem vowel -e-; limited productivity in deriving verbs in meaning ‘to become (like)’ from adjective or noun stems:

бéдный	poor	беднéть	to become poor
--------	------	---------	----------------

In derivation from noun stems, prefixation takes place:

сиротá orphan      осиротéть to become an orphan

The unprefixed verbs are imperfective; the prefixed verbs, perfective.

[1.3.1] Stem suffix *-n-*, dropping stem vowel *-u-*. The suffix *-n-* is productive in forming perfective verbs usually indicating a momentary, sudden action. Such verbs are usually formed from the stems of already existing or newly formed imperfective verbs. Productive verbs of this type retain *-n-* in all forms: *крайчать* ‘to be shouting’, *крайкнуть* ‘to let out a shout’, *спекулировать* ‘to speculate’, *спекульнуть* ‘to speculate once’.

[1.3.2.1] Dropping stem vowel *-a-* preceded by the suffix *-ov- ~ -u-*. This type is extremely productive in deriving words from native noun stems and still more from foreign borrowings. Loan formations frequently precede the stem suffix *-ov- ~ -u-* with borrowed radical suffixes such as *-iz-*, *-ir-*, *-ic-iz-*, *ur-*, and *-f-, ic-ur-*. Thus, *арестовать*, *командовать*, *мобилизовать*, *координировать*, *специализировать*, *советизировать*, *классифицировать*, etc. These verbs are imperfective and may be perfectivized through addition of prefixes. New verbs formed on this pattern stress the stem vowel *-a-*, excepting those with the suffix *-ir-* which is always stressed.

[2.1] Stem vowel *i*-dropping. This type is moderately productive in forming verbs (sometimes with addition of prefixes) from noun, adjective, and adverb stems: *бомбить* ‘to bomb’, *температуриТЬ* ‘to run a temperature’, *укрупнить* ‘to expand a collective farm’ (cf. *крупный* ‘big’), *обезтóчить* ‘to deprive of (electric) current’ (cf. *без тóка* ‘without current’). All other verb types are unproductive—no new verbs are formed on their patterns.

#### 2.4.11 Stress patterns of the verb

Verbs, like nouns, may have either fixed or shifting stress. General rules follow.

In perfective verbs, the prefix *vi-* has fixed stress. Imperfective verbs with the prefix *vi-* do not stress the prefix. Other than the prefix *vi-*, no prefix ever has fixed stress. If a verb contains a stem vowel and any element not dropped in the pres-fut. stem is stressed in the infinitive, stress is fixed (i.e., does not shift) on that syllable in all forms, except the past passive participle as noted.

First conjugation verbs with infinitive stems ending in /r/ which add /é/ before the infinitive stress the root in the remaining infinitive stem forms. (*Explanation of tables continued on p. 75.*)

TABLE 6. STRESS SHIFTS OF VERBS

Example nos.	[1.1a]	[1.1b]	[1.1c]	[1.1.3]
verb type	C-stems E-stress	C-stems in /k g/. All have E-stress but сéчь, срýчб and derivatives which have S-stress in inf. stem.	C-stems, S-stress	V-stems
inf.	formant -t, i stressed	last syllable before formant -č stressed.	formant -t., root stressed	
past act. part., past ger.	stress on last syllable before formant (on root)		stress as infinitive	
past	endings stressed (except in masc., where last syllable before zero ending is stressed).		stress as inf., except that some verbs of this type stress the fem. ending and some of the verbs which stress the fem. shift stress to a prefix in the non-fem. forms.	
past passive part.	endings stressed in short form; formant stressed in long form.		stress as inf., except that verbs stressing fem. in past stress fem. short form ending here; verbs stressing non-fem. past on prefix, stress prefix on non-fem. short forms and on the long forms.	
verbal noun	stress on formant			same stress as inf., very few stress endings.
pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	endings stressed		most stress the endings (in pres.-fut. and imp.) or formant (in ger. and part.); some retain same stress as inf.	
pres-fut. other than 1sg., pres. act. part.	same stress as 1sg., with very few exceptions which shift stress to last syllable before endings. These exceptions are мóчь and some compounds of the root -n, a ~ n, im- (снýть).			
Example nos. verb type	[1.2.1] stable vowel -e-	[1.2.2] stable stem vowel -a-	[1.3a] stem suffix -ov- ~ -u-	[1.3b] [2a-b] [2c] Conjugation II stem-final stem stem vowel vowel vowel dropped -e-, -a- -i-
inf., past act. part., past ger., past	stress usually on -e- rarely on root	stress either on -a- or on a preceding syllable	stress either on -a- or on syllable preceding -ov-	stress either on stem-final vowel or on a preceding syllable (verbs in -o- always stress this suffix). A few verbs with monosyllabic stems in -a- (брáть, лгáть, ждáть) stress the feminine ending of the past.

(Table continues on opposite page.)

Example nos.	[1.2.1]	[1.2.2]	[1.3a]	[1.3b]	[2a-b]	[2c]
past passive part.	stress usually on <i>-e-</i> rarely on root	If stem-final vowel is stressed in infinitive, stress shifts to immediately preceding syllable here (providing there is a syllable preceding the stem-final vowel); if any other syllable is stressed in the infinitive, stress remains on that syllable in this form. If fem. past ending is stressed, the fem. ending of the short form is stressed here.				stress as in pres-fut. other than 1sg. If endings stressed there, endings are stressed in short form, formant in long form.
verbal noun		same stress as in infinitive				formant stressed if stem-final vowel stressed in inf.; otherwise same stress as inf. (a few exceptions stress the formant even with other inf. stress).
pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.		same stress as in inf.	If suffix <i>-a-</i> is stressed in inf. and preceded by a root containing one or more syllables, <i>-u-</i> stressed here; if the preceding root is non-syllabic, we have ending-formant stress, except in imp. where <i>-u-</i> is stressed; otherwise as inf.	If the stem-final vowel is stressed in inf., the ending (pres-fut.) or formant is stressed in these forms; except inf. stems in /ojV/ shift stress to /ó/ in imp.; otherwise as inf.		
pres-fut. other than 1sg., pres. act. part.				If stem-final vowel is stressed in inf. stress here is either as in 1sg. or shifted to syllable immediately preceding ending or formant; otherwise as inf.		

*Example Verbs of Each Type of Stress Shift*

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres-fut. except 1sg., pres. aet. part.
[1.1a]	нести to carry	нёшши нёши	нёс неёла неёлó неёли	несён-, -а, -о, -ы несённый	несёние	несу́ неи́	несёшь несущий
[1.1b]	печь to bake	пёкши пёки	пёк, ло́, -мí	пеёин-, -а, -о, -ы пекённый	печёние	пеку́ пеки	печёшь пекущий
[1.1c]	кладь to lay	кладывши кладывши	клад-, -а, -о, -ы	кладён-, -а, -о, -ы кладёный	кладёшь	кладу́ клади	кладёшь кладущий
[1.1.3]	пить to drink	пивши пивши	пил-, -а, -о, -и	пит-, -а, -о, -ы питый	питы́	пиль пей	питёшь пьющий
[1.2.1]	белеть to be white	белёвший белёв	белая-, -а, -о, -и	беление	белю	белей белей	белёшь белёущий
[1.2.2]	делать to do	делавший делав	делал-, -а, -о, -и	делан-, -а, -о, -ы деланный	делание	делаю́ делай	делаешь делающий
	ожидать to await	ожидавший ожидав	ожидал-, -а, -о, -и	ожиданиe неожиданный	ожидание	ожидаю́ ожидай	ожидашь ожидящий

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres-fut. except 1sg., pres. act. part.
[1.3a]	страховать to insure	страховавший страхованъ	страховайл, -а,-о,-и	страхованъ страхованный	страхование	страхую страхуй страхую	страхуешь страхуший
	ковать to forge	ковавший ковавъ	ковайл, -о,-и	кованъ,-а, -о,-ы кованный		куб куй куя	куёшь куюший
[1.3b]	писать to write	писавший писавъ	пишайл, -о,-и	писанъ,-а, -о,-ы писаный	пишание	пишу пиши	пишешь пишущий
	брать to take	бравший бравъ	брайл,-а, -о,-и	(з)брранъ,-а, -о,-ы збранный)	(с)о брание	беру бери беря	берёшь берущий
	колоть to stab	колобвщий колобъ	колобъ,-а, -о,-и	колот колотый	колотье (от колотье или стеббинг pain)	колошь колош колошний	колошь колошний
	отдохнуть to rest	отдохнувший отдохнувъ	-о,-и	отдохнулъ,-а, -о,-и	(сф. столкнуть; столкнутый)	отдохну отдохни	отдохнёшь

\*irregular stress

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres. fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres. fut. except 1sg., pres. act. part.
[2a]	терпéть to suffer	терпéвши́й терпéв	терпéл, -а, -о, -и	(cf. смотрéть: смóтренны́й)	терпéниe	терпíж терпíй терпíмый	терпíшь терпíщий*
[2b]	держáть to hold	держáвши́й держáв	держáл, -а, -о, -и	дérжан держанны́й	держáниe	держú держíй держá	держíшь держáщий*
[2c]	любítъ to love	любíвши́й любíв	любíл, -а, -о, -и	любíл любí	люблí любíй любíя	любíмый	любíшь любíщий
/ 74 /	купíть to buy	купíвши́й купив	купíл, -а, -о, -и	куплен, -а, -о, -ы	(ис) купléниe	купíж купíй купí	купíшь
	обновíть to renew	обновíвши́й обновíв	обновíл, -а, -о, -и	обновлén, -а, -а, -о, -ы	обновлéниe	обновíж обновíй обновí	обновíшь

\*irregular stress

In the verbal noun, a few verbs have, in some cases as alternate forms, the noun endings stressed and no /i/ before the /j/ of the formant. Thus, *мыть* ‘to wash’, *мытьё* ‘washing’. Most of these verbs are first conjugation verbs with roots ending in a vowel and without stem suffixes.

In table VI “C-stems” indicates root verbs with stem terminating in consonant (consonant root verbs), “V-stems” indicates root verbs with stem terminating in vowel (vowel root verbs).

“E-stress” indicates stress on ending or formant, while “S-stress” indicates stress on stem. In the table of examples, where the example verb lacks the relevant form, a prefixed derivative is sometimes given. Where the non-masculine short forms of the past passive participle are stressed like the masculine, they are usually not listed. Some forms of individual verbs (particularly the past passive participle of 2c and the verbal noun) show exceptions to the rules of table VI.

Table VI describes the stress shifts characteristic of the various types of verbs; appended to it are example verbs for each type. The example numbers at the top of the table serve to classify the verb accent types and to identify the example verbs below; the numbering of the verb accent types is correlated as closely as possible with the numbering of the verb stem types (2.4.2 above).

#### 2.4.12 Perfectivization of basic verbs

The basic verb is defined as a simple, unprefixed verb from which other verbs in a “family” of verbs containing the same root morpheme are derived by the various processes of affixation, etc., described in this and the following section; thus, *писа́ть* ‘to write’ is the basic verb from which *написа́ть* ‘to write (down)’, *потпи́сать* ‘to sign’, *потпи́сывать* ‘to sign’, etc. are derived. The vast majority of basic verbs are imperfective (some, however, like *да́ть* ‘to give’ are perfective); typically, a perfective counterpart or counterparts are derived from them by prefixation (cf. *написа́ть* above) or a suffixation of *-n(u)-*; other perfectives with different nuances of meaning are derived by the addition of other prefixes (cf. *подпи́сать* above). From these secondary prefixed perfectives, secondary imperfectives are derived by various morphological processes described below.

Though most basic verbs are imperfective, in contemporary Russian the great majority of verbs paired by aspect consists of derived (prefixed) perfectives plus the secondary imperfectives derived in turn from them. A typical pattern of verb derivation (verb

“family”) is, then:

basic verb	→	secondary perfectives	→	secondary imperfectives
писать		написа́ть		
to write		to write (pfv.)		
(impfv.)		подпи́сать		подпи́сывать
		to sign (pfv.)		to sign (impfv.)
		запи́сать		запи́сывать
		to write down (pfv.) etc.		to write down (impfv.) etc.

Perfectivization of basic verbs takes place as follows:

1) Addition of a prefix:

пи́сать:	напи́сать	to write
пéчь:	спéбъ	to bake

2) Addition of stem suffix *-n(u)-* (after subtraction of previous stem vowel—махáть: махнúть ‘to wave’. Before this suffix, root-final /p b d g/ usually fall—двíгаться: двíнуть ‘to move’).

A few verbs, in addition to adding a prefix, change the stem-final *-a-* or *-ev-a-* to *-i-* with consequent change of conjugation from first to second.

стре́лять:	вы́стрели́ть	to shoot
сомневáться:	усомни́ться	to doubt

#### 2.4.13 Imperfectivization of basic and secondary perfective verbs

1) Addition of non-dropping stem vowel *-a-* which almost always receives stress; after subtraction of any stem suffix or stem vowel *-e-*, *-a-*, or *-i-*.<sup>5</sup> This method of imperfectivization is applied particularly to root verbs ending in a consonant and second conjugation *i*-dropping verbs and a few *e*-dropping verbs.

ко́нчить:	ко́нчáть	to finish
ле́теть:	ле́тáть	to fly
па́сть ( <i>pad-</i> ):	па́дать	to fall

(a) In addition, /i/ or /, i/ may be inserted in the root.

по́слáть:	по́сыла́ть	to send
вы́брáть:	выби́ра́ть	to choose
заснúть:	засыпа́ть	to fall asleep
		(final /p/ of root dropped before <i>-n(u)-</i> )

(b) *-e-* may be changed to *-i-*.

расстелíть:	расстила́ть	to spread out (bedding)
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2) Addition of suffix *-iv-* ~ *-v-* plus stem vowel *-a-* to root or to root plus *-ov-* with prior subtraction of stem vowel (other than *-e-*) or *-n(u)-*. The variant *-iv-* is added after a consonant, *-v-* after a vowel (*-v-* occurs after first conjugation verbs with roots ending in a vowel or with non-dropping stem vowel *-e-*). Stress will fall on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix variant *-iv-*, but on the stem vowel *-a-* following the suffix variant *-v-*.

схватíть:	схваты́вать	to catch
распаковáть:	распакóывать	to unpack
указать:	укáзывать	to point out
откры́ть:	открыва́ть	to open
заболéть:	заболевáть	to become ill

As mentioned in section 2.4.4, three bases, which add *-v+a-* lose it in the present-future forms and in the pres. act. part.: *dava-*, *-znavá-*, and *-stava-* (давáть: даю 'to give', etc.). Otherwise, stem vowel *-a-* is stable.

(a) Root *-o-* is very frequently changed to *-a-* before this suffix.<sup>6</sup>

зарабóтать:	зарабáтьывать	to earn
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In addition to the processes under 1) and 2), J-change of root-final consonant is very frequent when the source verb has stem vowel *-i-*.

встрéтить:	встречáть	to meet
спросíть:	спрашивать	to ask
насадíть:	насаживать	to put on (like a spit)
заявíть:	заявлáть	to announce

However, after roots ending in velars /k g x/, J-change will be present in the source verb, i.e., before stem vowel *-i-*, but may be absent before *-a-*.

сложíть:	слагáть	to fold
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3) In four root verbs, root vowel *-o-* is replaced by *-o-* and stem vowel *-i-* is added (with consequent change of conjugation from I to II). These are as follows:

лéчь	(l, <sup>o</sup> /eg- ~ l,ag-):	ложíться	to lie down
нести	(n,os-):	носíть	to carry
вести	(v,od-):	водíть	to lead
везти	(v,oz-):	возíть	to carry (vehicle)

The first pair above are perfective vs. imperfective; the last three pairs are semelfactive (one time or one direction) vs. iterative (repeated or multidirectional). A few perfective-imperfective pairs

show no regular correspondence. In some cases the roots of the perfective and imperfective appear related, but are not derived from one another by any of the above processes:

сéсть ( <i>s, e/ad-</i> ):	садíться	to sit down
éхать ( <i>jed- ~ jex-</i> ):	éздить	to ride (with derivatitcs in <i>ježž-a-</i> showing J-change from <i>jezd-</i> )
стáть ( <i>sta- ~ sta+n-</i> ):	становíться	to stand

Others show no relation at all between the roots of the perfective-imperfective pair:

взýть: бráть to take

Very rarely, one member of a perfective-imperfective pair may be reflexive, the other not:

стáть: становíться to stand

## 2.5 EXCURSUS ON THE MEANING AND USE OF THE ASPECTS

Aspect is a category which is inherent in every verb.<sup>7</sup> As described in section 2.4.12, aspect is signaled morphologically by various morphemes (prefixes, suffixes, including stem vowels), which by their presence, contrasting with their absence or with the presence of other affixes, serve as indices of aspect. Note that it is the *contrastive* presence of the morpheme which indicates; no morpheme is inherently an indicator of aspect, except possibly the stem suffix *-iv~v-*. Thus, the suffix *-n(u)-* is not invariably an indicator of perfective aspect; it is its presence versus its absence in a derivationally related verb which signals perfective. Likewise, a prefix alone does not make a verb perfective, but its presence versus its absence in an otherwise identical verb usually signals perfective. The test as to whether a verb is imperfective is its appearance in certain syntactic frames which exclude perfectives. Verbs whose infinitive can appear as object of *начáть* 'to begin' are imperfective as are verbs which form a future construction with *бúду* (see section 3.1.5.1).

Я бúду говорíть I'll be talking

Он начáл плýть He began to swim

Говорíть and плýть are, by this test, imperfective verbs. Verbs which do not meet this test are perfective. Бýть 'to be' is in this

as in other respects anomalous, since it can appear with нача́ть—  
 Он нача́л бы́ть интересным ‘He began to be interesting’—but expresses its future with a present-future form like a perfective verb. Semantically, perfective verbs connote an action as somehow terminated or definitely limited in time, while the imperfective verb is non-committal with regard to the beginning or termination point of the action, usually regarding it as an ongoing process or as a repetitive or habitual process. In diagram form:

*Perfective*

(the action, as one global whole as terminated or bound in time.)

*Imperfective* (no termination or bounding; beginning and ending left unspecified).

Note that the perfective is the marked category; the imperfective is basically non-committal concerning the meaning-component added by the perfective; it is this added element which excludes the perfective from certain syntactic frames. These basic differences of meaning between perfective and imperfective aspects lead to the following differences in meaning in the various forms.

The present-future forms of imperfective verbs serve as the normal present tense of Russian verbs. This is because it is difficult to visualize an action in the present as anything other than either (a) ongoing or (b) habitual or continuous; the basic meanings of the imperfective aspect. The present-future forms of perfective verbs serve as a future tense referring to action taking place as one single unit in the future. This is the usual future tense in Russian. The present-future form of perfective verbs only occurs exceptionally without a future meaning. For example, after пуск ‘let’, as in Пуск принесёт атласы. ‘Let him bring the atlases’. Both perfective and imperfective present-future are used as a historical present in narration.

In general, perfective commands are more peremptory and categorical, so that many social formulae are expressed with imperfective verbs.

Сади́тесь.

Sit down.

Входи́те, пожа́луйста.

Please come in.

Since the imperfective aspect does not denote completion of an action, it is frequently used when the verb is negated, since a ne-

gated verb implies non-completion of an action. Thus,

Она́ не пеклá эти печéния.	She didn't bake these cookies.
-------------------------------	--------------------------------

Contrast:

Она́ спеклá эти пнчéния.	She baked these cookies.
-----------------------------	--------------------------

This is particularly true of negative imperatives, which are usually imperfective:

Не спрашива́й.	Don't ask!
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Contrast:

Спроси́ у него́.	Ask him!
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Compare also the use of the imperfective and perfective together in the following sentence: Она́ пеклá печéния, но́ не спеклá. ‘She was baking cakes but didn't finish’. (She had started to bake, but did not carry the action through for some reason.)

## 2.6 ENCLITIC PARTICLES ATTACHED TO THE VERB

### 2.6.1 The reflexive particle -ся and its use

The particle -ся has the following forms:

	after verb forms ending in vowel (except participles)	after verb forms ending in consonant and after participles
written	-сь	-ся
pronounced	/s/, / or /s/	/s,a/ or /sa/

The pronunciation /s/, /s,a/ is usual after vowels and palatalized consonants, while the pronunciation /-s/, /sa/ is more frequent after non-palatalized consonants. When -ся is added to verb forms terminated by /t/, (infinitive) or /t/ (third person singular and plural, present tense), /t,/ loses palatalization and /sa/ becomes /ca/. Thus,

боя́ться	/bajátca/	to be afraid
боя́тся	/bajátca/	they are afraid

The particle -ся is never attached to the verbal noun. An object in the accusative case never occurs with a verb at the same time the particle -ся is attached to it.

A number of verbs occur only with -ся: смеяться ‘to laugh’, бояться ‘to be afraid’.

The particle -ся may also be attached to a transitive verb which

otherwise usually occurs with an accusative object. With these, -ся has the following functions:

1) Reflexive—the subject performs the activity for or upon itself:

Мáльчик одевáется. The boy dresses himself.

However, the reflexive idea is usually attenuated; if the reflexive element is emphasized, the reflexive pronoun will be used. Compare,

Онá ругáет себá. She blames herself.

Онá ругáется. She's scolding; She's cursing.

2) Reciprocal—plural subjects perform the activity upon each other:

Мы встрéтились на стáнции. We met at the station.

Again the reciprocal idea can be made more explicit by use of the reciprocal locution:

Мы встрéтили дру́г дру́га на стáнции. We met each other at the station.

3) Passive—an action is performed by an external actor upon the subject:

Сочинéния пишутся. Compositions are being written.

Closely related to this is the causative-reflexive, where the subject causes or permits an external actor to perform an action upon him:

ОН снимáлся у фотóграфа. He had (got) his picture taken at the photographer's.

Again, the passive idea is frequently attenuated and the impersonal performance of some action upon the subject is indicated:

Урóк начинáется в три часá. The lesson begins (is begun) at three o'clock.

Когдá двéри открывáются? When do the doors open?; When do they open the doors?

This construction is used when an action is undergone by the subject due to impersonal, invisible, or internal factors:

Дéрево гнётся. The tree is bending (presumably due to impersonal, physical force).

Прóволока гнётся.      The wire bends (i.e., is flexible by nature).

Нýтка рвётся.      The thread tears (presumably through some internal weakness).

Note that in many functions where Russian uses a transitive verb plus -ся, English simply uses a normally transitive verb without an object.

4) The reflexive particle -ся is often added to transitive verbs when habitual, generalized, or intensive activity is indicated without an object being specified.

Эта собáка кусáется.      This dog bites.

Собáка егó кусáет.      The dog is biting him.

This usage has been extended to intransitive verbs as well.

Белéется.      It looms (indistinctly) white (in the distance).

Compare:

Белеет.      It's shining *or* becoming white.

5) The particle -ся is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs to make impersonal constructions in which a person affected is indicated by a noun or pronoun in the dative (*N<sub>dat</sub>*).

Мнé хóчется спáть.      I feel like sleeping.

Емý не спýтся.      He doesn't feel like sleeping.

Емý легкó живётся.      He's getting along well.

Мнé вспóмнилась эта нóчь.      The memory of that night came to me.

6) Finally, the reflexive particle, added to some transitive verbs, makes verbs of quite different meaning:

собиáть      to gather together

собиáться      to intend, to get ready

## 2.6.2 The post-verbal enclitic (unstressed) particles -ка and -те

The particle -те /t,i/ is sometimes added to the first person plural present-future used as imperative. The force of the particle is to decrease the peremptoriness of a command, to emphasize the connotation of request.

Пойдёмте!      Let's go!

The particle -ка /ka/ may be added to the imperative forms or sometimes to the first person singular or plural with -те in colloquial speech. Use of this particle connotes familiarity, relaxedness, folksiness (e.g., it is often used in addressing children).

Подожд́-ка.	Wait.
Пойдёмте-ка.	Let's go.
Напишу-ка ему́ письмó.	Supposing I wrote him a letter.

### 2.6.3 Order of the particles

If more than one of the foregoing particles is affixed to a verb, the order is (1) /-t, i/ (2) /-s, a/ (3) /-ka/:

Запи́шемтесь-ка. Let's register.

### NOTES

1. The archaic neuter nouns жити́е 'Saint's life', быти́е 'being, existence' (stems žit-, ij-, bit-, ij-) constitute an exception to the system of modern Russian noun morphology, in that they have /-i/ in the prepositional singular and /é/ in their endings where regular окнó-nouns have -o. The remaining endings are those of the окнó-type: NAsg. жити́е, быти́е; Gsg. жити́й, быти́й; Dsg. жити́ю, быти́ю; Psg. жити́й, быти́й; Isg. жити́ем, быти́ем (italicized endings are those that differ from regular nouns, cf. NAsg. ружьё, Psg. ружьё, Isg. ружьём).

2. The only major exception to this statement are стól-nouns which have Nominalive pl. -á, many of which have three or more syllables in the stem: дирéктор, дирéкторá 'director', учíтель, учите́ль 'teacher'.

3. The neuter nominative ending is noted morphophonemically -ojo, through the second vowel, as it never occurs stressed, is never rendered as /o/. However, it shows the idiolectal variation /i~a/ characteristic of the morphophoneme -o- in post-stress position after a soft consonant. The assignment of the second vowel to the morphophoneme -o- is the solution also adopted by L. Bloomfield in the grammatical introduction accompanying the *Dictionary of Spoken Russian*, Dover, 1958. The second vowel of the genitive ending -ovo, on the other hand, is actually realized as /o/ under stress in such special adjectives as mojovó /mæjivó/ моерó 'my'.

4. Strictly speaking, the comparatives described in this section do not function solely as predicate complements, but also rather rarely function as attributes in a noun phrase, in which case they have the prefix *po-* (2.3.5) and occupy the position following the head typical of undeclined modifiers: Секретárь помолóже напра-вля́ется к нéрвому зáму; секретárь постáрше—к председáтелю. 'The junior secretary goes to the first deputy, the senior secretary to the chairman.'

5. Also, some of these processes are used to form iteratives from basic imperfective verbs—быть: бывáть.

6. A similar spelling replacement sometimes takes place with the change described under 1): сложíть: слагáть; as stem vowel -a- is almost always stressed, written -a- represents no change from root vowel -o- which would be /a/ in un-stressed position.

7. That is, every verb is either perfective or imperfective. Russian grammarians, and following them, T. F. Magner ("Aspectual Variations in Russian and Serbo-Croatian," *Language* 39:621-30) posit "double-aspect" verbs, i.e., verbs which can be of either aspect and in which the aspect distinction is neutralized. I am skeptical as to the existence of true double-aspect verbs (as opposed to verbs which are simply imperfectives without perfective counterparts), but cannot at this point categorically reject the possibility of their existence in Russian (as I indeed would for Serbo-Croatian, on the basis of work with native informants).



# Sentence Structure

## 3.1 THE UNITS OF THE SENTENCE

The simple sentence (i.e., one without subordinate clauses, including quasi-clauses, incorporated in it) is here viewed as a skeletal framework composed of functional positions (slots) into which its constituent parts may be inserted. These constituent parts of the sentence are termed phrases. There are various kinds of phrases, which differ both in respect to the functional slots into which they may be inserted and in respect to their internal constituency. They are designated in this chapter by capital letter abbreviations (N = noun phrase, A = adjective phrase, D = adverbial phrase, PN = prepositional phrase, V = verb phrase, C = conjunction). The minimal phrase consists of a single word of a given class (as pointed out above, words are classified in terms of both their grammatical form and of their syntactic function). This word serves as the nucleus or head of the phrase and determines the function of the phrase in the sentence (e.g., into what functional slot the phrase fits). PN is an exception to this statement and, in general, fills the same slots as D. A phrase typically may be expanded by adding adjuncts (attributes, modifiers) to the head. (C is an exception to this statement.) Such an expanded phrase is equivalent in grammatical function (*ergo*, in slot substitutability) to the phrase consisting of a head alone. Sometimes items of another form class may serve as heads of a given type of phrase (e.g., substantivized adjectives as head of the noun phrase), so that while we give primacy to grammatical form in setting up our morphological classes—noun, verb, etc.—we give primacy to syntactic function in setting up our sentence level units, the phrases. In particular, we find verb phrases constituted by words or constructions not ordinarily thought of as verbal, e.g., various adverbs in construction with the verb “to be,” bare uninflected verb

roots, onomatopoeics, defective imperatives, and the like (sections 3.1.5.1-3 and 3.2.2.4 below).

Sentences, like their constituents down to the word level, may be conjoined by conjunctions to form a single unit syntactically equivalent to the conjoined units. More interestingly, sentences may incorporate (embed) into their structures constructions representing the result (transforms) of transformations effected upon other simple independent sentences. Such incorporated structures include (1) incorporated clauses *per se* which are sentences either without change or with a simple introducer such as *что*; (2) relative clauses that are derived from independent sentences which share a constituent with the incorporating sentence (in the relative clause, this shared constituent is replaced by a relative word which then serves to link the subordinate clause to the relevant constituent slot of the incorporating sentence and also serves as the surrogate of the shared constituent of the source sentence in the relative clause); and (3) quasi-clauses which are derived from independent sentences by replacing the verb phrase of the source sentence with a quasi-verb form and, in the case of participial and gerundial quasi-clauses, by deleting the subject of the source sentence which is shared with the source sentence either as the subject of that sentence (gerundial) or a constituent of that sentence (participial). These incorporated elements are treated in sections 3.3-4. The units of the sentence include the following.

### 3.1.1 The noun phrase (N)

N consists of a noun or noun substitute (pronoun, substantivized adjective, numeral, quantifier) plus any modifiers which may be present.

<u>Автобус</u> идёт.	The bus is coming.
<u>Я</u> иду домой.	I'm going home.
<u>Вот</u> русский.	There's the Russian.
<u>Учёный</u> здесь работает.	A scholar works here.
<u>Было</u> несколько.	There were several.
<u>Он</u> кончил школу.	He finished school.

Modifiers of N are A:

свободные стулья	free chairs
твой портфель	your briefcase
эта работа	this work
очень жаркий день	a very hot day

or D:

собра́ние вчера́ ве́чером the meeting last night

or PN:

музе́й в Москв́е the museum in Moscow

or N<sub>gen</sub>:

Note that when speaking of the function of a noun phrase in the sentence, it is convenient to classify it according to the case of its head. Thus, we speak of N<sub>gen</sub> (genitive noun phrase), N<sub>nom</sub>, etc.,

дом на́шего отца́ our father's house

less commonly, N<sub>inst</sub> or N<sub>dat</sub>:

поездка автомоби́лем a ride by car

доказа́тельство э́тому proof of that

N in the same case as the head N or N<sub>nom</sub> (noun in apposition):

рома́н "Война́ и Мир" the novel "War and Peace"

студе́нтка забо́чница student by special appointment

A subordinate clause:

ме́сто где́ они́ живу́т the place where they live

Rarely an infinitive quasi-clause:

сове́т пить молоко́ the advice to drink milk

Note that A as modifier (and the possessives его́, её́, их) usually precede their head, while all other modifiers usually follow it.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1.2 The adjectival phrase (A)

A consists of an adjective or an adjective modified by one or more D.

гóлоден hungry

свобóдный free

очень жárкий very hot

немно́го бо́льше слáдкий a little sweeter

### 3.1.3 The adverbial phrase (D)

D consists of an adverb or an adverb modified by one or more adverbs.

очень	very
скучно	boring(ly), annoying(ly)
очень выгодно	very profitably

A few D, such as *даже* ‘even’, *почти* ‘almost’, *только* ‘only’, the negative particle *не* and some others function as special phrase modifiers and stand before the phrase they modify, notwithstanding the rule that D attributes normally follow the head of a noun phrase. Thus we have, *только наши приятели* ‘only our friends’, *даже в Москве* ‘even in Moscow’, *не эта большая ручка* ‘not that big pen’, *не о Зине* ‘not about Zina’. As D constituents on the sentence level, they usually precede the verb; indeed, the negative particle immediately precedes the verb (with no intervening elements) and forms an accentual unit with it. Compare *не понимает* ‘doesn’t understand’ and *не было* ‘wasn’t’.

### 3.1.4 The prepositional phrase (PN)

PN consists of a preposition plus N:

со мной	with me
об этом человеке	about this man
в городе, где жил мой отец	in the town where my father lived

### 3.1.5 The verb phrase (V)

V consists of a single verb or a verbal construction.

Автобус <u>идёт</u> .	The bus is coming.
Я <u>буду писать</u> .	I will write.
Она <u>боялась бы</u> .	She would be afraid.

#### 3.1.5.1 Verbal constructions.

1) The imperfective future with *буду*. Russian imperfective verbs form a future construction consisting of the present-future forms of *быть* (*буду*, *будешь*, etc.) as an auxiliary verb, plus the infinitive, usually in that order.

Я <u>буду пить</u> .	I'll be drinking.
Ты <u>будешь пить</u> .	You'll be drinking.
Они <u>будут пить</u> .	They'll be drinking.

2) Constructions with *бы*. The enclitic particle *бы* occurs with the past tense form of the verb to form a construction (traditionally termed conditional or subjunctive). The particle *бы* may be placed either immediately after the verb or after the first stressed word of

the clause. When it occurs in a clause introduced by что or если, it is often written together with если and always with что. Used after these words and sometimes elsewhere (after items ending in a vowel), it may be abbreviated to б.

The бы construction indicates hypothesis or desire. The use of the бы construction in что-clauses and in conditional sentences is treated in sections 3.3.1.5-6. In independent clauses it is often used to indicate attenuation or softening of independent clauses which are directive: Я хотéл бы (*or* Я бы хотéл) поговорить с вáми. ‘I’d like to talk to you.’ (Cf., Я хочу поговорить с вáми. ‘I want to talk to you.’); Я бы спáл. ‘I’d like to sleep.’

The enclitic particle бы also occurs with the infinitive; the word order relation of бы within the clause being the same as when it occurs with the past tense. The infinitive plus бы may be used in что-clauses, particularly if the subject of such a clause is unexpressed and the same as the subject of the main clause (see section 3.3.1.5). Finally, the particle бы alone may occur as a linking verb in condition clauses or as illustrated below with optative sense.

Поскорéй бы.

If only it were quicker!

Чáю бы.

Some tea would be good!

Отдохнúть бы тебе.

You ought to get a rest.

Чáю бы выпить.

It would be nice to drink some tea.

Хорошó бы стáть капитá-  
ном парохода.

It would be good to become a ship’s master.

**3.1.5.2 Onomatopoetics as V.** Certain onomatopoetic expressions, which otherwise occur as interjections, may function as verb phrases.

(Он подхóдит сзади) и трáх  
его по головé.

(He comes up from behind) and smashes him on the head.

Татьяна прýг в другíе  
сéни.

Tatiana jumps into the other passage.

Most of these expressions are roots of regular verbs, e.g., трáхнуть ‘to crash, bang’, прýгать ‘to jump’.

**3.1.5.3 Defective imperatives.** Certain borrowed items, as мáрш ‘march’ and стóп ‘stop’, serve as uninflected imperative verbs. Likewise, the native elements нá ‘take it’ and нý ‘well, then’ are to be regarded as imperative verbs, since they may take the plural

imperative ending *-t, i:* *нáте, нýте, and* serve as verbs in sentences:

Нá тебé кни́гу!	Here's the book.
Нý тебá к чёрту!	Go to the devil!

### 3.1.6 The conjunction (C)

Conjunctions serve as introducers or connectors of syntactic units, primarily of sentences. Conjunctions serve to link syntactic units, but may also simply introduce unconnected units (compare some usages of *да, и, etc.*, below). Certain of these also serve as D. They occur in initial position, i.e., before the rest of the sentences they introduce or connect, and are of two types, as listed below.

#### 1) Subordinators.

если (see 3.3.1.6 below)

хотя (*хóть*)

Хотá он хорошо́ рабóтает,  
но не мóжет стáть  
завéдущим.

Although he works well, he can-  
not become a director.

что (see 3.3.1.4 below)

пока

Покá онá читáет, он пишет  
пíсьма.

While she reads, he writes  
letters.

Note that when *покá* introduces a sentence with an imperfective verb it corresponds to English 'while'; with a negated perfective verb it corresponds to 'until'.

Я дóлго следíл за нéю  
взóром, покá её шляпка  
не скрылась за кустáр-  
никами и скáлами.

I followed her a long time with  
my gaze, until her hat was  
hidden behind the bushes and  
rocks.

ибо

Я пригласíл своегó  
спúтника выпить вмéсте  
стакáн чаю, ибо со мной  
был чугúнный чáйник.

I invited my travelling companion  
to drink a glass of tea together  
with me, since I had an iron  
teakettle.

пýсть (пускáй)

Пускáй я слáб—мой мéч  
силён.

Пýсть войдёт.

Though I am weak, my sword is  
mighty.

Let him come in.

2) Coordinators (coordinating conjunctions). Coordinators serve to link two grammatically comparable elements (words, phrases, clauses). Two grammatically comparable elements linked by a coordinator may substitute for one such element. For example:

(a) as the subject of a clause (two noun phrases):

<u>Мóй бráт и вáша сестrá</u> идúт в шкóлу.	My brother and your sister are on their way to school.
--	---

(b) as direct object in a predicate (two noun phrases):

<u>Хотíте кóфе или чáй?</u>	Do you want coffee or tea?
-----------------------------	----------------------------

(c) as the verb phrase in a predicate (two verb phrases):

<u>Нáш сýн ни рабóтает ни</u> <u>у́чится.</u>	Our son neither works nor studies.
--	---------------------------------------

(d) two main clauses form an independent sentence:

Óн спít, а женá рабóтает.	He sleeps and his wife works.
---------------------------	-------------------------------

The principle coordinators are и (и....и) ‘and’, a ‘and, but’, ни ... ни ‘neither—nor’, или (или... или) ‘or, either—or,’ но ‘but.’ A somewhat special coordinator used in comparison is чéм:

<u>Я бóльше люблó бóрщ, чéм</u> <u>кашú.</u>	I like beetroot soup more than gruel.
---	--

<u>Óн молóже, чéм егó бráт.</u>	He is younger than his brother.
---------------------------------	---------------------------------

<u>Óн быстрéе рабóтает, чéм</u> <u>наш дру́г.</u>	He works faster than our friend.
--	----------------------------------

Of course some of the foregoing words do not always function as coordinators: Thus, И Ивáн рабóтает хорошó. ‘John too works well.’ is a special adverb (D) modifying the phrase Ивáн and comparable to other such adverbs as тóлько ‘only’, тóже ‘also’.

Additional coordinators are:

### либо

<u>Лíбо ты ко мнé приéдешь,</u> <u>либо я приéду к тебе.</u>	Either you come to me, or I come to you.
---	---

### да

<u>Чёрен, да не вóрон, рогá-</u> <u>тый, да не бы́к.</u>	Black, yet not a crow; horned, yet not a bull.
---	---

<u>Щí да кáша, пíща на́ша.</u>	Cabbage soup and groats, that's our food.
--------------------------------	--

<u>Да здráвствуют рабóчие</u> <u>люди всéх стрáн!</u>	Long live the laboring people of all countries!
--	--

<u>Да ты готóб?</u>	Well, are you ready?
---------------------	----------------------

тό

Не тó вéтер захлóпнул  
дvéрь, не тó ктó-то  
вошёл с улицы.

Тó вýдится кréст лаза-  
рétной карéты, тó  
слышится вы́стрел.

Either the wind slammed the door,  
or someone came in from the  
street.

At times one sees the cross of  
the hospital car; at times a  
shot is heard.

**CC = C:** Some combinations of conjunctions function as single conjunctions.

да и

Смотрíтель постоýл, по-  
стоýл, да и ушёл.

The overseer stood and stood  
and finally went away.

Many items classified in traditional Russian grammars as conjunctions are actually relative adverbs (кáк, когдá), or syntactic combinations of adverb or adjective plus relative adverb or conjunction (так как, потому́ что, мéжду тém как, etc.), or prepositional phrases (затó = за + то).

## 3.2 THE SENTENCE

### 3.2.1 Structure of the simple sentence

**3.2.1.1** *The verb phrase as minimal sentence.* The minimal sentence type is V alone.

Читáйте!  
Разумéется.  
Стучáт.

Read!  
It's understood.  
Someone's knocking.

**3.2.1.2** *The subject.* The verb in non-imperative sentences usually has a subject expressed by N<sub>nom</sub>.

Автóбус идёт.  
Я читáл.

The bus is coming.  
I was reading.

If the subject is clear from the context, it is frequently omitted in colloquial style.

Я былá вéсь дéнь в гóроде. I was in town all day. I bought  
Купíла материál на material for a dress.  
плáтье.

Impersonal sentences referring to natural processes, etc., have no subject. Their verbs have 3 sg. neuter formal agreement.

Гремíт.  
Гремéло.

It's thundering.  
It thundered.

Impersonal sentences in which the agent is an unspecified person or persons also have no subject, but 3 pl. agreement.

Укрáли!

They stole it; It's been stolen!

**3.2.1.3 Modifiers of the verb.** The V may also have modifiers, which may be D, PN, or subordinate clauses.

Тáм стучáт.

Someone's knocking there.

В кóмнате дýёт.

There's a draft in the room.

Сестrá читáла, покá я  
писáл пíсьма.

Sister was reading while I wrote  
letters.

**3.2.1.4 Objects of the verb.** The verb may also have objects, i.e., N's in other cases than nominative or prepositional. If the object is  $N_{acc}$ , it is called the direct object.<sup>2</sup> Most verbs which take objects take direct (accusative) objects:

Укрáли мóй чемодáн.

My suitcase was stolen.

Я вýдел егó бráта.

I saw his brother.

Менé влеклó на Вóлгу.

I was drawn to the Volga.

If the verb is negated, the direct object is usually (in about two-thirds of the occurrences of negated verb with direct object)  $N_{gen}$  rather than  $N_{acc}$ , i.e., sentences with verbs which take  $N_{acc}$  objects undergo a transformation changing  $N_{acc}$  to  $N_{gen}$  when the verb is negated.<sup>3</sup>

Никtó не укрáл вáшего чемодáна.      Nobody stole your suitcase.

If the direct object is a noun designating a commodity which occurs in numbers or divisible masses, the direct object may be in the genitive, when an indefinite amount or number is indicated.<sup>4</sup>

Я пойдú куплю мáрок и  
конвéртов.

I will go and buy stamps and  
envelopes.

Дáйте мнé винá.

Give me some wine.

Contrast:

Я возьму мáрки и  
конвéрты.

I will take the stamps and  
envelopes.

Дáйте мнé винó.

Give me the wine.

**3.2.1.5 Indirect objects.** Many verbs which take direct objects also take, as additional objects,  $N_{dat}$  (indirect object). The indirect object usually designates a person affected by or interested in the action performed upon the direct object or to whom the action is

directed:

Она́ далá кни́гу <u>учíтелю</u> .	She gave the book to the teacher.
Он пишет письмо <u>своей</u> <u>мáтери</u> .	He's writing a letter to his mother.

A few verbs may take an object in the genitive in addition to a direct object.

Правительство лишило моё сестрú её прав.	The government deprived my sister of her rights.
---	--

3.2.1.6 *Objects in various cases.* Some verbs do not take objects in the accusative, but require ("govern") objects in other cases.

N<sub>inst</sub>

Дирéктор руковóдит <u>фáбrikой</u> .	The director directs the factory.
Он владеёт <u>пятью</u> <u>домáми</u> .	He is the owner of five houses.

N<sub>dat</sub>

Я помóг <u>вáшему</u> <u>сыну</u> .	I helped your son.
Позвоните <u>моей</u> <u>сестрé</u> .	Telephone my sister.

N<sub>gen</sub>

Я боýсь <u>её</u> <u>отца</u> .	I am afraid of her father.
Мы избежáли <u>опасности</u> .	We escaped danger.

Some verbs may take objects in more than one case, often with a slight difference in meaning.

Онí бросáли <u>кáмнями</u> .	They were throwing stones.
Онí бросáли <u>кáмни</u> .	(same)

3.2.1.7 *Nouns as verbal modifiers.* Sometimes an N may function as a verbal modifier rather than an object.<sup>5</sup> Such are principally either N<sub>acc</sub>, N<sub>gen</sub>, or N<sub>inst</sub> as time expressions:

Он смеýлся <u>всё</u> <u>утро</u> .	He laughed all morning.
Онí прилетéли <u>первого</u> <u>февралý</u> .	They flew in February first.
Сестrá пришлá <u>вечером</u> .	Sister came in the evening.

3.2.1.8 N<sub>inst</sub> as agent or means. N<sub>inst</sub> expressing agent or means also serve as verbal modifiers.<sup>6</sup>

Брát лóвит рýбы úдочкой.

Brother catches fish with a fishing rod.

Кóля пишет письмó  
карандашом.

Kolja's writing a letter with a pencil.

Дом покрыт снéгом.

The house is covered with snow.

Сочинéния пишутся  
ученикáми.

Compositions are written by the students.

**3.2.1.9 Instrumental complement** (resulting from transformation of an equational sentence). Sentences containing a class of verbs including считáть 'consider', провозгласíть 'proclaim', обознáчить 'designate', etc., besides an accusative object, also show  $N_{inst}$ . In sentences of the form  $N_{nom} V N_{acc} N_{inst}$ ,  $N_{acc} + N_{inst}$  represent a transform, embedded in the larger sentence, of an equational sentence where  $N_{acc}$  is derived from the subject of the equational sentence and  $N_{inst}$  from the complement. Я егó считáю большím учёным. 'I consider him a great scholar' is derived from Я считаю plus Он большой учёный.

**3.2.1.10 Impersonal sentences with instrumental agent.** The following type of 3 sg. impersonal sentences with  $N_{inst}$  as means appears.

Пáхнет сéном.

There is a fragrance of hay.

Пáхло сéном.

There was a fragrance of hay.

Егó убýло мóльей.

He was killed by lightning.

## 3.2.2 Special sentence types

**3.2.2.1 The equational sentence.** The equational sentence equals subject + linking verb + complement. The subject is  $N_{nom}$  as in any other sentence. The linking verb is usually some form of быть 'to be', but may be any of a list of verbs which do not occur with objects and which signify being or becoming (являться, находиться, стáть, сдéваться, and some others).

The complement is N,A,D (adverbs of time or location, principally), or PN.

Студéнт мóй бráт.

The student is my brother.

Студéнт молодóй.

The student is young.

Студéнт тáм.

The student is there.

Этот студéнт из нашего  
общежития.

This student is from our dorm.

Этот студéнт моíх лéт.

This student is my age.

In addition there may be verbal modifiers present.

Студéнт ужé не молодóй.      The student is no longer young.

**3.2.2.2 The predicate complement.** An N as eomplement is in the nominative or instrumental. The instrumental usually occurs with the future and past of бы́ть and with linking verbs other than бы́ть.

В тó врёмя бн бы́л сту-  
дéнтом.      At that time he was a student.

Она́ стáла инжинéром.

Я сде́лаюсь дирéктором  
трéста.

She became an engineer.

I will be made director of the  
trust.

An A eomplement is almost always nominative when the linking verb is бы́ть; with other verbs, it may be nominative or instrumental.

Он бы́л очень мýлый (мýл).      He was very pleasant.

Он стáл очень богáтый  
(богáтым).

Она́ оказа́лась глúпой.

He became very rich.

She proved to be foolish.

**3.2.2.3 The impersonal equational sentence.** The equational sentence may be impersonal, in which case, of course, no subject is expressed. The most common form is the verb бы́ть plus D.<sup>7</sup>

Хóлодно.      It's cold.

Бы́ло жárко.

It was hot.

Other verbal modifiers may appear, either before the linking verb, or after the D.

Зdéсь хóлодно.

It's cold here.

Лéтом бы́ло жárко в Крымú.      During the summer it was hot  
in Crimea.

If a living being is concerned, it will be indicated by N<sub>dat.</sub>

Мné хóлодно.

I'm cold.

Студéнту бы́ло скýчно.

The student was bored.

A past passive participle in the short neuter singular form may be the eomplement in this type of sentence.

Емý не скáзано об этом.

He has not been informed of  
this.

Negative statements of being (existence) are usually impersonal with the item stated not to exist appearing as N<sub>gen</sub>.

Тáм нéт мостá. There is no bridge there.

Егó нéт в гóроде. He's not in the city.

У менé нéт такíх книг. I have no such books.

**3.2.2.4 The pseudo-verbal sentence.** Such a sentence has as its verb phrase a pseudo-verbal construction, consisting of a word other than a verb, plus linking бы́ть (normally, in that order). Such constructions are pseudo-verbal, because, like verbs, they enter into constructions with infinitives (as objects) and four of them take N objects. One, должен бы́ть, has as its first element a short form adjective which agrees with a nominative subject.

Онá должна была́ купíть атлас. She was supposed to buy an atlas.

The rest are impersonal; if living beings are concerned, they are indicated by N<sub>dat</sub>.

Нельзя танцева́ть в сто- лóвке.

Dancing in the dining hall is not permitted.

Ему нельзя винá.

He is not allowed wine.

Тáм мóжно танцева́ть.

There one may dance.

Нám порá идти.

It is time for us to leave.

Ми́е жáль егó сестрú.

I'm sorry for his sister.

Моéй сестрé нáдо нóвую тетráдку.

My sister needs a new notebook.

Отсюда дерéвню вíдно.

One can see the village from here.

Музыку слýшно чéрез окнó.

Music is heard through the window.

Вíдно, слýшно are adverbs derived from adjective stems; порá is a женá-poison; мóжно, нельзя, нáдо, жáль (жáлко) are undeclined words (presumably D). Нáдо, вíдно, слýшно, жáль take N<sub>acc</sub> objects (direct objects). Нельзя, being negative, takes N<sub>gen</sub> objects. Agreement of linking бы́ть is neuter sg., even with items like порá which are by origin non-neuter nouns:

Порá бы́ло уходить. It was time to go away.

**3.2.2.5 Minor sentence types.** Certain other minor sentence types occur; these include the following:

1) N<sub>nom</sub> used in citation, enumeration, stage settings, designa-

tions of shops, offices, streets, places, literary works, etc., slogans, and the like.

Москвá	Moscow (as citation or dictionary entry)
хлéб сóль огурцí	bread salt cucumbers (listing)
Почтáмт	post office (sign on building)
Тíхий Дóн	(title of a Russian work)

The foregoing should probably be distinguished from the occurrence of  $N_{nom}$  in narration or exclamation, which probably represents an equational sentence with zeroed linking verb, since the linking verb may appear in past or future; compare Тишинá. ‘It is (or was) quiet.’, and Былая тишинá. ‘It was quiet.’

- 2)  $N_{nom}$  used as vocative: Ивáн! Зýна!
- 3) Deictic sentences consisting of the deictic D бóт plus  $N_{nom}$  as subject and verbal modifiers such as occur in Бóт вáм хорóший примéр. ‘Here’s a good example for you.’, and Бóт óн. ‘Here he is.’

- 4) Negatives and exclamations, as да ‘yes’, нет ‘no’ (both are D).

### 3.2.3 Interrogation

Sentences treated thus far have been statements or commands. The same basic sentence types may also occur as questions, with certain transformations of their structure.

As in very many languages, in Russian there are two types of questions which we may term respectively question-word questions and alternative questions.

In question-word questions, one element of the sentence, represented by a question-word (interrogative pronouns, adverbs, etc., such as who, what, when, where, why, etc.), represents an unknown for the speaker, which he requests his interlocutor to clarify. In Russian these typically (not always) begin with /k/ (cf. English “wh-”): кто, когда, который, etc. Question-word questions in Russian usually have the same word order as the corresponding non-questions, except the question-word, no matter what its function in the sentence, stands in initial position (see 3.6(4) below).

Гдé ты была, Маšа?	Where were you, Maša?
О чём же вы с нéй гово- рили?	What did you talk about with her?
Чтó вы читáете?	What are you reading?
Когдá ты вернёшь мнé мою книгú?	When are you going to return me my book?

However, in case of emphasis, another element may precede the question-word.

А вы́ когда́ идёте?

And how about you, when are  
you going?

А вám зачéм зна́ть это?

And why do you need to know  
that?

Question-word questions have falling terminal contour with primary stress on the semantically most important word, or in “neutral” non-emphatic questions, on the final word. Unlike statements and commands, however, the intonation pattern is /<sup>(2)321</sup>/ with highest pitch on the question word and a fall from medium to low pitch after the primary stress.

/<sup>2</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>dá+vi+ xat, ít, i+, it<sup>2</sup>t, í<sup>1</sup>v|/ Where do you want to  
go?

Alternative questions, on the other hand, as their name implies, request an alternative as an answer; usually a reply of “yes” or “no” regarding the truth of their meaning-content (for this reason they are often called yes/no questions).

Вы́ печáтаете свой произве-  
дения в журналах?

Do you publish your works in  
magazines?

Ты́ бы́л вчера́ в инститúте?

Were you at the institute  
yesterday?

Отвéт есть?

Is there an answer?

Sometimes, however, they state some other alternative, as in Вы́  
пьёте чáй или кóфе? ‘Do you drink tea or coffee?’ and Бác по-  
слáли сюдá или вы́ самý решíли прийтí? ‘Did they send you here  
or did you decide yourself to come over?’

Typically, the alternative question has the same form and word order as the corresponding statement, but the question is signaled by a different intonation pattern.<sup>8</sup> The alternative question typically shows falling terminal contour with primary stress and a sharp rise-fall on the stressed syllable of its semantically most important word (in “neutral,” non-emphatic questions this will be the verb). If the primary stressed syllable is the absolute final syllable of the question, usually instead of rise-fall we have sustained high pitch with no falling terminal contour.

/<sup>2</sup>vi+ tám+<sup>3</sup>bí<sup>1</sup>l, i<sup>1</sup>|/ Were you there?

but

/<sup>2</sup>ti+ tám+<sup>3</sup>bíl<sup>3</sup>|/ Were you there?

The foregoing statements apply to the last (or sole) major segment of the question. If a question has one or more non-final major segments, their intonation pattern is similar to that of non-final major segments of statements.

Alternative questions may contain the unstressed question-particle *ли*. It is attached to the semantically most important word of the sentence, which, as mentioned, is ordinarily the verb. The particle *ли* in effect makes a question-word of the word to which it is attached (follows) and that word is shifted from its usual word order position to initial position in the sentence.

Работаете ли вы на фáбрике?      Do you work at the factory?

Compare:

Вы рабóтаете на фáбрике?

In emphatic use, of course, *ли* may be attached to other items than the verb:

Зáвтра ли начинáются лéкции?      Why, is it *tomorrow* that classes begin?

Use of *ли* is characteristic of bookish style, rather than of colloquial language, which prefers sentences marked simply by intonation. In negative questions however, *ли* is fairly common in the spoken language.

Не осталось ли когó в дóме?      Did anybody stay in the house?  
Не хотíте ли чáю?      Don't you want some tea?

Alternative questions may be introduced by the D páзве 'really, maybe, unless' and неужéли (не + ужé + ли) 'really'. Both indicate an attitude of surprise on the part of the questioner that the content of the question should be true. Note that páзве may be used in non-questions, while неужéли (because of *ли*) only introduces questions.

Рáзве вы не знаéте?	Why, don't you know?
Рáзве он приéхал?	Has he come?
Неужéли вы не мóжете приéхать?	Can't you come, really?
Неужéли это прáвда?	Is that really true?

A minor question type consists not of a grammatically complete sentence, but of a sentence fragment (usually N) introduced by *a* (the meaning is usually "And (what about)...?"). Typically, its terminal contour is rising, with intonation showing a fall-rise pattern, the lowest point being on the syllable with primary stress.

Á Кáтя?      And what about Kate?

### 3.3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses are of two kinds: *relative clauses*, which contain a relative word functioning grammatically both in the main and subordinate clause and serving to link these two structures, and *incorporated clauses*, which are simply sentences embodied in larger structures and filling a grammatical function of N (usually as object or subject, sometimes as attribute to N) or D in that structure.

Incorporated questions are called indirect questions, while incorporated declarative sentences here will be termed indirect statements. We will first take up incorporated clauses and then treat relative clauses.

#### 3.3.1 Incorporated clauses

Incorporated clauses are either direct quotations or indirect clauses.

3.3.1.1 *Direct quotations*, which reproduce material quoted without change, as objects of verbs of saying, asking, etc., are the grammatically simpler, but less frequent type of incorporated clauses.

Examples:

Он сказа́л,—Я рабо́таю в  
библиотéке.

Она́ спроси́ла,—Где́ ты  
живёшь?

He said, “I work in the  
library.”

She asked, “Where do you  
live?”

3.3.1.2 *Indirect incorporated clauses*, if they quote an utterance, do not reproduce quoted material verbatim, but change the person-reference from the reference basis of the speaker quoted to that of the speaker quoting. The two sentences above, changed to indirect quotations, would be,

Он сказа́л, (что) он рабо́тает  
в библиотéке.

Она́ спроси́ла, где́ он живёт.

He said he worked in the  
library.

She asked where he lived.

Note that in indirect quotations Russian retains the time reference basis of the original utterance and does not change it to the reference basis of the quoting speaker as English frequently does (compare difference in tenses between the Russian utterances and the English translations in the last two examples).

It also should be noted that only a minority of incorporated clauses are quotations. In terms of structure, it is convenient to divide all indirect incorporated clauses into indirect questions and non-questions. Non-questions may be further divided into indirect statements, condition clauses, etc.

**3.3.1.3 Indirect questions.** Both types of questions which occur independently, question-word questions and alternative questions, occur also as indirect questions. When incorporated as indirect questions, alternative questions almost always occur with ли. Word order in indirect questions is the same as in independent questions.

Indirect questions occupy N position in the sentence, usually as object, sometimes as subject, rarely in apposition to another N.

Examples:

1) Question-word questions.

(a) as objects:

Он не знаёт, где она работает.

He doesn't know where she works.

Он вам скажет, кто там директор.

He will tell you who's the director there.

Скажите нам, что надо делать.

Tell us what should be done.  
(N.B. что́ /štó/ stressed, distinguishing it from unstressed introducer что /šta/)

Я спросил, когда открываются двери.

I asked when the doors open.

Мы узнали, чьи это книги.

We found out whose books they were.

(b) as subjects:

Ещё не известно, кто будет руководить работой.

It is still unknown who will direct the work.

Мне теперь было ясно, где находится противник.

Now it was clear to me where the enemy was.

2) Alternative questions.

(a) as objects:

Мать спросила, далеко ли до завода.

Mother asked whether it was far to the factory.

Я не знаю, работает ли он на заводе.

I don't know whether he is working at the factory.

Ивáн спрáшивает, бўдёт ли  
Ирина на собráнии.

Я не знаю, лúчше ли пойти  
в теáтр или на концéрт.

John is asking if Irene will be  
at the meeting.

I don't know whether it's bet-  
ter to go to the theater or to  
the concert.

(b) as subjects:

Неизвéстно, вернётся ли óн  
сегóдня.

It's uncertain whether he will  
return today.

**3.3.1.4 Indirect statements.** These are normally introduced by *что / šta/* (which, however, may sometimes be omitted in colloquial usage, particularly after verbs of saying, believing, etc.). Word order is the same as in independent statements. Their usual function is in place of N.

1) as objects:

Я слы́шал, что Фомá идёт  
сегодня вéчером.

Я не дўмаяу, что óн написáл  
это письмо.

Говорýт, что вы́ болéли  
ангíной.

Говорýт, вы́ болéли ангíной.

I heard that Thomas is going  
this evening.

I don't think that he wrote this  
letter.

They say that you were sick  
with a bad sore throat.  
(same meaning)

2) as subjects:

Кáжется, что егó здéсь нéт.  
Кáжется, егó здéсь нéт.

Стáло ясно, что мы́ заб-  
лудíлись.

It seems that he's not here.  
(same meaning)

It became clear that we were  
lost.

3) as attribute to тó:

Мné очень мешáет тó, что óн  
тák грóмко говорýт.

Дирéктор начаl с тогó, что  
лýчно познакóмился со  
всéми.

Всé ráды томý, что на-  
ступíла веснá.

It disturbs me very much, that  
he talks so loudly.

The director started by per-  
sonally becoming acquainted  
with everyone.

Everyone is happy that spring  
has begun.

4) as attribute to такóй:

Отéц шёл такíми бы́стрыми  
шагáми, что мáльчик с  
трудом поспевáл за нýм.

The father walked with such  
rapid steps that the boy had  
difficulty in keeping up with  
him.

Туман был такой, что в двух шагах ничего не было видно.

The fog was such that nothing two steps away could be seen.

5) as attribute to тák (D function):

Мы сидели на углу бастиона так, что в обе стороны могли видеть все.

We sat on the corner of the bastion in such a way that we could see everything on both sides.

Мы так устали, что не можем идти больше.

We are so tired, that we can't walk any further.

**3.3.1.5 Indirect statements containing бы.** When there is an element of uncertainty, hypothesis, demand, obligation or wish implied, the бы construction will be used in the что-clause. Бы will occur immediately after что and что plus бы are written together as one word: чтобы or чтоб. Note that clauses with что-бы are used in exactly the same syntactic functions as ordinary что-clauses.

1) as object of verbs of ordering, requesting, telling:

Я хочу, чтобы вы купили эти книги.

I want you to buy these books.

Он сказал, чтобы вы взяли его чемодан.

He said that you should take his suitcase.

Contrast:

Он сказал, что вы взяли его чемодан.

He said you took his suitcase.

2) as object of other verbs (where unreality or hypothesis is involved):

Никто не помнит, чтобы здесь кто-нибудь жил или собирался жить.

Nobody remembers that anyone has ever lived here or intended to live here.

3) as subject:

Нужно, чтобы все приехали.

It is necessary that everyone should have arrived.

4) in apposition to то:

Вместо того, чтобы сразу войти в комнату, он остановился на пороге.

Instead of immediately entering the room, he stopped at the threshold.

Задача заключается в том, чтобы как можно лучше выполнить задание.	How best to accomplish the task constitutes the problem.
--	--

A special use of что + бы is in apposition to для того expressing purpose. Very frequently, in purpose clauses, the для того may be omitted.

Он работал (для того), чтобы его семья могла жить. Они работают, чтобы жить.	He worked so that his family might live. They work to live.
--	---

Note in the above sentences that, if the subject of the subordinate clause is not expressed because it is the same as in the main clause, or because it is impersonal, the infinitive rather than the past is used in the бы construction.

5) in apposition to такой:

Давайте запоём такую песню, чтобы все могли подпевать нам.	Let's sing a song such that everyone will be able to join in.
--	---

6) in apposition to other N:

Я послал ему письмо, чтобы он приехал.	I sent him a letter, that he should come here.
---	---

**3.3.1.6 Conditional sentences.** Conditional sentences are composed of a condition clause (if-clause), which is a subordinate clause, and a result clause, which is the main clause. The condition clause is subordinate to and functions as a D in the result clause. The condition clause is introduced by если (если is solely an introducer, fulfilling no grammatical function in the subordinate clause), less often by раз, коли, коль, and rarely by когда:

Читатель ошибается, если представляет себе тайгу в виде рощи.	The reader is mistaken, if he conceives of the taiga (Siberian coniferous forest) as a simple wood.
---	--

Если лёд на реке тронется, мы не сможем переправа- ться на тот берег.	If the ice on the river begins to move, we won't be able to get over to the other shore.
---	---

Раз ты не знаешь, молчи. Не будет скучки, коли заняты руки.	If you don't know, keep quiet. You won't be bored, if you keep busy.
---	--

Если же никого не было дома, то я оставался и ждал.

If no one was at home, I used to stay and wait.

If the condition is unreal, the бы construction (which admits no tense distinction) is used. The бы always follows если immediately; если бы is often contracted to если б.

Я променял бы, если б мог.  
Если бы он мне сказал об этом, я бы помог.  
Ох лёто красное, любил бы я тебя, когда б не зной, да пыль, да комары, да мухи.

I'd change it if I could.  
If he had told me about it, I would have helped.  
Ah, beautiful summer, how I would love you, were it not for the heat, the dust, the mosquitoes and the flies.

The if-clause may stand before, after, or (more rarely) may be inserted into the result clause. If the if-clause stands before the result clause, the latter may be introduced by то, так or тогда.

Если светит солнце и на небе нет облаков, то пение и запах сена чувствуются сильнее.

If the sun is shining and there are no clouds, the singing and aroma of hay will be more strongly felt.

Sometimes a clause with no introducer, but with imperative verb may serve as a condition clause.

Если бы они мне не помешали, я кончил бы работу сегодня вечером.

If they hadn't disturbed me, I would have finished the work this evening.

Не помешай они мне, я кончил бы работу сегодня вечера.

(same meaning)

Вернись он раньше, он застал бы нас.

Had he returned earlier, he would have found us in.

Если бы он вернулся раньше, он застал бы нас.

(same meaning)

### 3.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses contain a word which serves some function both in the subordinate clause and in the superordinate structure. In Russian, such a relative word is almost invariably one which may serve as an interrogative in independent sentences. The relative word thus serves to link the subordinate and superordinate

clauses. In the superordinate structure it may serve as N, noun attribute, as apposition to N or D, or as D.

Word order is the same as in interrogative sentences.

**3.3.2.1 Nominal clauses.** These are clauses in which the relative word functions in the subordinate clause as noun or adjective. The various types will be listed below according to the relative word they contain.

1) *который*—main clause function: attribute to N, sometimes apposition to a deictic adjective such as *тот*; subordinate clause function: substantivized adjective.

Это та́ девушка, о котóрой  
мы говорíли.

Вот человéк, котóрому вы  
дáли письмо.

Это та́ книга, котóрая тут  
была́ вчера́.

Я тóт, котóрому внимáла ты  
в полуночию тишинé.

That's the girl we were talking  
about.

Here is the man you gave the  
letter to.

That's the book which was  
here yesterday.

I am the one to whom you lis-  
tened attentively in the  
quiet of midnight.

2) *какóй*—main clause function: attribute to N, sometimes apposition to *такóй*; subordinate clause function: substantivized adjective or predicate adjective complement.

Сейчáс принесу́ сáмую  
длíнную, какáя есть.

Этот тáнец бы́л такóй, какóй  
люди ужé давнó не видáли.

I will bring the longest one  
available right away.

It was a dance, the like of  
which the people have not  
seen long since.

3) *чéй*—very bookish, main clause function: attribute to noun; subordinate clause function: possessive adjective.

Я бы́л рáд уви́деть дру́га,  
чýи совéты мнé бы́ли  
нужны́.

I was glad to see a friend,  
whose advice I needed.

Compare:

(Я бы́л рáд уви́деть дру́га,  
совéты котóрого мнé  
бы́ли нужны́.)

Сча́стлив тóт, чьá рóдина  
Совéтский Сою́з.

I was glad to see a friend,  
whose advice I needed.

Fortunate is he, whose home-  
land is the Soviet Union.

4) *какóв*—rare, main clause function: apposition to *такóв*; subordinate clause function: predicate adjective complement.

Како́в я прёже бы́л, тако́в и ныне́ я.

5) кто́, что́—main clause function: usually apposition to substantivized то́т, ве́сь, вся́кий, ка́ждый, любо́й and to the pronouns нико́то, ничо́то; subordinate clause function: N.

Всё, что́ говори́л сы́н.

Не спра́шивай мене́ о то́м,  
чего́ ужé не́т.

Кто́ и́шет, то́т всегда́  
найдёт.

Я не то́т, за когó вы́ мене́  
принима́ете.

Я принёс то́т, что́ ты́ проси́л.

Я не зна́л тогó, кто́ долЖен  
бы́л прийтí.

As I was before, so I am now.

и ныне́ я.

Everything that the son said.

Don't ask me about that which  
no longer exists.

He who searches will always  
find.

I am not the one, for whom you  
mistake me.

I brought what you asked for.

I didn't know the one who was  
to come.

(a) кто́ may also be in apposition to abstract это́, то́.

А е́сли кто́ для мене́ не по-  
нятен, так это́ моя́  
бáбушка.

If there's someone whom I  
can't understand, it's my  
grandmother.

(b) кто́ in nominative only occurs occasionally (in certain  
styles) in apposition to a noun.

Ту́т э́ти солдáты, кто́ по не-  
разу́мно своему́ малоду́шно  
положи́ли ору́жие, узна́ли  
сты́д.

Here those soldiers, who  
through their own ignorance  
meekly surrendered their  
arms, felt shame.

(c) что́ functioning in the subordinate clause as a N<sub>nom</sub> or N<sub>acc</sub>  
without a preposition may serve as attribute to an inanimate noun.

Под дерéвьями, что́ рослí  
вóзле дóма, стояла  
скамéйка.

A bench stood under the trees,  
which grew near the house.

Дерéвня, что́ мы́ проéхали,  
стояла на берегú óзера.

The village we drove through  
was situated on the lake  
shore.

(d) In colloquial usage, this что́ may also serve as attribute to nouns denoting an animate being.

Вóн у тогó студéнта, что́  
прошёл.

That student over there who  
just passed has it.

Мóжет бы́ть вóн то́т, что́  
прошёл.

Maybe that one, walking along  
there.

(e) *кто́*, *что́* may serve as attributes to adjectival *тот*.

Это был тот человек, кого́  
все ждали.

That was the man everyone  
was waiting for.

(f) *кто́*, *что́* may function as N in both clauses (through omission of a form of *тот* to which they would otherwise be attributes). In such an event, the pronoun is in the case form required by its function in the subordinate clause.

Счастлив, кто́ это видит  
своими глазами.

Fortunate is he, who sees it  
with his own eyes.

Случилось, (то́) чего́ никто́  
не ожидал.

That, which no one expected,  
happened.

Кто́ говорит это, врёт.

Whoever says that is lying.

**3.3.2.2 Adverbial clauses.** The relative word in these clauses is an adverb. In the subordinate clause, its function is always predicate adverb. In the main clause it usually serves in apposition to a predicate adverb, as predicate adverb (often through omission of a predicate adverb to which it would otherwise be in apposition), rarely as attribute to N.

1) in apposition to D.

Мы отпра́вились туда́, где́  
собра́лись все́.

We went there, where everyone  
had gathered.

Я сде́лал та́к, каќ он сказа́л.

I did as he said.

2) as D in main clause.

Он жи́л, каќ долЖен жи́ть  
бо́ец, и у́мер каќ солдат  
(умира́ет).

He lived as a warrior ought,  
and died as a soldier (dies).

Я все́ сде́лал (та́к), каќ вы́  
проси́ли.

I did everything as you asked.

Это случи́лось (тогда́), когда́ я  
жи́л в Москвe.

This happened when I lived in  
Moscow.

3) apposition to N.

в го́роде, где́ он жи́л  
Я помни́ю то́ утро, когда́ он  
верну́лся.

in the town, where he lived  
I remember that morning, when  
he returned.

### 3.4 QUASI-CLAUSES

Quasi-clauses are units which are similar to sentences in structure, but lack certain characteristics of real sentences. Quasi-

clauses have as their verb phrase non-finite verb forms (infinitive, gerund, participles). With the exception of the infinitive quasi-clause, there is no subject within the quasi-clause so that it consists of a predicate alone—a verb phrase accompanied by other predicate elements. The word order of the elements within the quasi-clause is, in general, that of the analogous elements in a simple sentence.

### 3.4.1 Infinitive quasi-clauses

1) Among quasi-clauses, infinitive quasi-clauses are the only ones which occur as independent sentences. As such they occur under the following two circumstances:

(a) In commands (this type of command is abrupt and impersonal and occurs in military drill, political slogans, and the like).

Мéдленно éздить!	Drive slowly!
Молчáть!	Be quiet!
Подписáть!	Sign!
Взять éту высотú!	Take that hill!

(b) N<sub>nom</sub> subject plus infinitive (invariably in that order) may occur, indicating either the sudden beginning of an action in the past (a usage not frequent in the contemporary standard language) or expressing incredulity that a particular action should be supposed.

Я бежáть, а онí кричáть.	I started to run and they started to shout.
Я—ревновáть?	Me be jealous?

2) An infinitive quasi-clause may replace a subordinate clause with finite verb.

(a) An infinitive quasi-clause with бы plus infinitive construction may occur after что, replacing a clause with finite бы construction, if the subject is the same as in the main clause or is impersonal. See 3.3.1.5(d) for examples.

(b) After (до тогó) как, (péред тéм) как, (прéжде) чем and in a condition clause which is impersonal or general the infinitive may replace a finite verb.

Пéред тéм как уйтí, мнé нýжно убрáть кóмнату.	Before leaving I must straighten the room.
Если эконóмить, тó срéд- ства хвáтят.	If one economizes there will be sufficient means.

3) Infinitive quasi-clauses may occur in place of noun phrases, particularly as the subject of a sentence. Here the person(s) concerned, if indicated, will be in the dative case.

(a) as subject:

Зачéм спешить?  
Ходíть по травé воспреп-  
щаéтсѧ.

Why hurry?  
Walking on the grass is for-  
bidden. (Keep off the  
grass.)

(b) as predicate complement:

Нáм порá идти на урóк.

It's time for us to go to class.

An infinitive quasi-clause as subject or complement of an equational sentence may have a wide range of "modal" meanings—obligation, necessity, possibility.

The person or entity affected (under obligation, necessity, etc.) is expressed by  $N_{dat}$ .

Миé ешё коня́ пойтъ.

Что́ дёлать?

I still must water the horse.

What is to be done? (What is  
one to do?)

Всéм бытъ на местáх.

Ни вылезть нáм, ни лóк  
откры́ть—тако́й огónь  
чеса́л.

Everyone must be in his place.

We were being raked by such a  
fire that we could neither  
crawl out nor open a  
hatchway.

Бытъ бедé.

There'll be trouble. (Trouble  
must be.)

Не мнé звонйтъ декáну, а  
вáм.

It's not up to me to call the  
dean, but to you.

Не мнé бы́ло звонйтъ, а вáм.

It wasn't up to me to call, but  
to you.

The linking verb may be the conditional of бýть (past form deleted); the "modal" meaning is often desirability.

Вáм бы полечítъся.

You ought to undergo some  
treatment.

4) They also occur as attributes to N (usually nominal trans-  
forms of verbs).

совéт занимáться спóртом  
любíтель потанцевáть  
возмóжность рабóтать  
прóсьба сéсть  
мечтá поéхать  
боязнь простудíться

advice to participate in sports  
a lover of dancing  
possibility of working  
request to be seated  
dream of travel  
fear of catching cold

5) They rarely occur as attributes to an adjective.

Мы́ готóвы вýполнить свóй  
дóлг. We are ready to fulfill our  
obligations.

6) As D after verbs of motion, an infinitive quasi-clause may express purpose.

Дíбич тóтчас поéхал  
выбира́ть позиции. Dibič went at that moment to  
select positions.

### 3.4.2 Participial quasi-clauses

The participle combines the syntactic functions of adjective and verb. Hence, quasi-clauses in which the verb phrase is a participle have the same function as an A (and usually modify a N).

<p>Какóй-то человéк, читáющий газéту, сидéл за столом.</p> <p>Все живу́щие в Москвé граж- дане.</p>	<p>A man reading a newspaper sat at the desk.</p> <p>All citizens living in Moscow.</p>
---	---

Note that a participial quasi-clause may either follow or precede the noun it modifies. The latter order is characteristic of bookish or official style.

The actor (subject) of the quasi-clause is the noun it modifies, an element outside the quasi-clause.

### 3.4.3 Gerundial quasi-clauses

The gerund combines the syntactic functions of verb and adverb. Gerundial clauses function as adverbs within the predicate of a clause. Their actor (subject) is the subject of the main clause.

<p><u>Быстро вы́пивши кóфе</u>, Ивáн Ивáнович встáл и пошёл на стáнцию.</p> <p><u>Не бóйсь моегó бráта</u>, кóшка засну́ла.</p>	<p>Quickly drinking the coffee, Ivan Ivanovich got up and went to the station.</p> <p>Not fearing my brother, the cat went to sleep.</p>
---	--

Gerundial quasi-clauses may occupy any position in the sentence occupied by an adverb, but very frequently precede the subject.

## 3.5 GRAMMATICAL AGREEMENT (OR CONCORD)

Agreement with regard to the following grammatical categories occurs in Russian:

gender (masc., fem., or neuter; distinguished only in the singular number),

number (sg. or pl.),  
case (NAGPDI), and  
person (1, 2, 3).

### 3.5.1 Rules of concord (agreement)

1) Agreement (between adjective and noun) within the phrase. Adjectives in a noun phrase agree with the head of the phrase in regard to number, gender, and case. Examples of noun phrases, showing agreement (the phrase head and agreeing endings are underlined):

<u>мо́й</u> <u>но́вая</u> <u>кни́га</u>	(Nsg. f.)	my new book
<u>на́ши</u> <u>стáрье</u> <u>плáтья</u>	(Npl.)	our old dresses
<u>это́т</u> <u>большóй</u> <u>стóл</u>	(Nsg. m.)	this big table
<u>вáшему</u> <u>больнóму</u> <u>прия́телю</u>	(Dsg. m.)	to your sick friend
<u>тéми-же</u> <u>рúсскими</u> <u>автомóбíлями</u>	(I pl.)	by the same Russian automobiles

2) Agreement between the subject and its adjective predicate complement. A predicate complement, if an adjective, agrees with the subject in number and gender.

<u>мóй</u> бráт <u>молодóй</u> .	(m. sg.)	My brother is young.
<u>егó</u> сестrá <u>стáла</u> <u>красíвая</u> .	(f. sg.)	His sister became beautiful.
собráние бýдет <u>интересно</u> .	(n. sg.)	The meeting will be interesting.
урóки бы́ли <u>скúчны</u> .	(pl.)	The lessons were boring.

3) Agreement between subject and finite verb forms (present-future and imperative). The present-future and imperative verb forms agree with the subject, if expressed, in terms of person and number.

<u>Я</u> <u>понимáю</u> по-рúсски.	I understand Russian.
<u>Ты</u> <u>читáешь</u> истóрию.	You are reading history.
<u>Собрáние</u> <u>бýдет</u> интересно.	The meeting will be interesting.
<u>Мы</u> <u>закончим</u> рабóту.	We shall finish the work.

4) The past tense, on the other hand, shows the same sort of agreement as the adjective predicate complement, namely in number and gender.

<u>Сестrá</u> <u>забы́ла</u> кни́гу.	Sister forgot her book.
--------------------------------------	-------------------------

Мы были там.  
Я была в Москвe.

We were there.  
I (woman speaking) was in  
Moscow.

5) Agreement between the relative and its antecedents. When *какой* or *котóрый* serve as relatives (that is, fulfill a grammatical function in a subordinate clause, but refer to a word in a main clause) they agree with their antecedent (the word referred to) in number and gender; their case is determined by their function in the subordinate clause.

<u>кошкa</u> , <u>котóрая</u> съéла рыбу	the cat who ate the fish
<u>кошкa</u> , о <u>котóрой</u> мы гово- рили	the cat we spoke about
<u>учитель</u> , <u>котóрого</u> ты вíдел вчера	the teacher whom you saw yesterday

6) Agreement of numerals within the noun phrase. When a numeral is in a case other than N or A, it agrees with the noun it modifies in regard to case. The noun modified will always be in the plural.

с двумá молодýми студéн- тами	with two young students
трём стáрым учитељам	to the three old teachers
о шестí рúсских рублях	about the six Russian rubles

Note that any adjectives present also agree in number and case with the noun modified.

In the nominative and accusative, numerals from 5 to 20, plus multiples of 10 and 100 (i.e., 30, 40, 100, 200, etc.) require the noun modified (and any adjectives accompanying such a noun) to be in the genitive plural.<sup>9</sup>

Я вíдел пáть молодых студéнтов.	I saw five young students.
У нас сóрок нóвых книг.	We have forty new books.

When in the nominative, the numerals 2,3,4, and 'both' require that nouns they modify be in the Gsg. Adjectives accompanying such nouns are in the Gpl. or, if the noun is feminine (both *женá-* and *кóсть*-types), they may be in the Npl., particularly if the Gsg. and Npl. of the noun are identical. Also, adjectives which precede the numeral are usually in the Npl. (rarely in the Gsg.).

два студéнта	two students
двé студéнтки	two students (girls)

три молодых студента	three young students
три молодые ( <i>or</i> молодых)	three young students (girls)
студентки	
мои первые два студента	my first two students

Substantivized adjectives follow the rule stated above for adjectives; that is, if masc. or neuter, they are in the Gpl. after the N of 2,3,4, and оба 'both', while, if feminine, they are usually in the Npl.

два портных	two tailors
три гостиные	three living-rooms

When the numerals 2,3,4, and оба 'both' refer to an inanimate entity, their accusative is identical with the nominative and the rules stated above apply. When the numerals 2,3,4, and оба 'both' refer to a living being, their accusative is identical with their genitive and nouns accompanying them are in the Gpl. Note this is *not* true of other numerals.

Я видела обеих студенток.	I saw both students (girls).
Я видел <u>двух</u> новых студентов.	I saw the two new students.
but	
Я видел пять студенток.	I saw five students (girls).

However, in referring to animals and even sometimes to human beings, the use of an accusative identical with the nominative is admissible.

Я видел две кошки.	I saw two cats.
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Compound numerals (i.e., numerals made up of a succession of numerals) require that the noun (and adjectives accompanying it) they modify, behave agreement-wise, as the last element of the compound would require. Thus,

двадцать два молодых	twenty-two young students
студента	
шестьдесят семь молодых	sixty-seven young students
студентов	
сто сорок один русский	a hundred and forty-one
учитель	Russian teachers

However, compound numerals ending in два, три, and четыре usually have the A identical with the N, even when modifying a noun referring to living beings:

Я видел двадцать два студента.	I saw twenty-two students.
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тысяча ‘thousand’, миллион ‘million’, and миллиард ‘billion’ are grammatically not numerals, but nouns. They require that nouns following them be in the Gpl. no matter what case they may be in.

тысяча молодых студентов a thousand young students

However, тысяча, in cases other than the N and A and not itself modified by an adjective or numeral, may behave as a numeral, requiring the noun following it to agree in case.

с тысячу рублей (*or*  
рублей) with a thousand rubles

7) Concord of numerals and quantities as subjects with the verb. A numeral in the NA is usually treated as neuter singular as far as verbal concord is involved.

В городе было три музея. There were three museums in town.

Три осталось. Three remained.

However, the numeral is likely to be treated as a plural, if the numeral clearly refers to living beings, except when the numeral is modified by a quantitative adverb such as более, менее, свыше, почт, всего, только.

Пять девушек кончили школу. Five girls finished school.

Шесть лошадей бегало (*or*  
бегали) по поляю. Six horses ran about the field.

Пять рыб плывало (*or* плывали) в аквариуме. Five fish swam in the aquarium.

*but*

Всего пять девушек кончило школу. Only five girls finished school.

Более пятидесяти учеников писало сочинение. More than fifty students wrote compositions.

Where extremely large numbers of people are involved, the numeral is also treated as a singular.

Четыре тысячи пятьсот семьдесят три человека работали на этой фабрике. Four thousand five hundred and seventy three people worked at this factory.

It is always treated as a plural if the numeral is modified by an adjective.

Эти двадцать хорошо работают. These twenty work well.

Adverbial quantifiers such as

немнóго, немнóжко	a little bit
мáло	little
мнóго	a lot
скóлько	how many
стóлько	so many
мéньше	less

and approximate constructions such as с деся́ток ‘about ten’ are also usually treated as neuter singular in terms of verbal concord.

Около десяти студéнтов  
писáло.

About ten students wrote.

Мнóго студéнтов писáло  
плóхо.

Many students wrote poorly.

Nouns and adverbial quantifiers expressing an indefinite number such as большинствó ‘majority’, меньшинствó ‘minority’, and нéсколько ‘several’ are treated as neuter singular, unless they are accompanied by a noun denoting persons in the genitive plural, in which case the verb may be either neuter singular or plural. The verb will usually be plural if the persons involved appear as active agents.

Большинствó голосовáло за  
мир.

The majority voted for peace.

Большинствó студéнтов  
написáло (*or* написáли)  
хорошó.

The majority of students wrote  
well.

### 3.5.2 Addendum on the use of the collective numerals

When in the N or A, the collective numerals require the noun they modify to be in the Gpl.; otherwise collective numeral and accompanying noun are in the same case. In the first instance the collective numerals function as nouns, namely as phrase heads with attribute in Gpl.; in the latter instance the collective numerals function like adjectives, i.e., as attributes.

Collective numerals are used with дéти ‘children’ and with nouns that occur only in the plural. Only the use of двóе ‘two’, трóе ‘three’, and чéтверо ‘four’ in the NA is obligatory; in cases other than NA and in all cases in numbers higher than five, they can always be replaced by a non-collective numeral, and their use in present-day speech is very much on the wane.

трóе детéй	three children
двóе ворóт	two gates
чéтверо часóв	four watches

Additional, optional uses of the collective numerals are with pronouns

íх бы́ло трóе	there were three of them
вáм двóим	to you two

and with masculine nouns

двóе студéнтов	two students
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as phrase heads, without accompanying noun:

Он рабóтает за двóйх. He works for two people.

### 3.6 WORD ORDER

1) Direct word order (subject plus predicate):

Subject	Predicate	
Í	<u>былá</u> в гóроде.	I was in town.
Áтласы	<u>éсть.</u>	We have atlases.
Эта рабóта	<u>о кибернéтике.</u>	This work is about cybernetics.
	<u>Смотрéла</u> в окнó.	I was window-shopping.
	<u>Спросí</u> у Смирнова.	Ask Smirnov.
	<u>Заходите.</u>	Come in.
Обéд	<u>готóв?</u>	Is dinner ready?
Ты	<u>заходí!</u>	You come in!

In the above examples, the order in the predicate is verb (underlined in the examples) plus complements. However, pronouns and sometimes prepositional phrases with pronoun objects, and adverbs, particularly short ones, are usually placed before the verb.

Subject	Predicate	
Ты	<u>егó знаéшь?</u>	You know him?
Í	<u>ужé спрашíвал.</u>	I already asked.
Í	<u>о нéй много слýшал.</u>	I've heard a lot about her.
Глóбус	<u>у менé ужé éсть.</u>	I already have the globe.
Вы	<u>чáсто хóдите</u> в кинó?	Do you often go to the movies?

Note, however, that pronoun objects are not so placed in commands without an expressed subject:

Дай мнé книгу!

Give me the book!

Sometimes for purposes of emphasis even larger items are placed before the verb:

*Subject* | *Predicate*

Ты

Ольгу знаешь?

Do you know Olga?

Я

таких атласов ещё не видел.

I've never seen atlases like this.

Я

тоже её имени не запомнил.

I didn't remember her name either.

Direct word order is characteristic of statements, questions without question-words (which are distinguished from statements only by their intonation contours), and commands.

2) Direct word order with displacement of part of predicate to a position before the subject:

*Subject* | *Predicate*

Танцева́ть

я

люблю.

Dancing I like.

Тогда

я

тоже пойду

сего́дня. Then I'll go today too.

По-мое́му

студéнты

писáли неплохó.

In my opinion the students didn't write badly.

Displacing part of the predicate to initial position usually involves increased emphasis on the element so placed, except in the case of adverbs of time and place, for which such placement is normal.

3) Inverted order (predicate plus subject):

*Predicate*

У нас вчера́ бы́ли

*Subject*

экзáмены.

We had examinations yesterday.

Вот идёт

наш дирéктор.

There comes our director.

У нас есть

у́ксус.

We have vinegar.

У же

звонóк.

The bell's rung already.

У менé тепéрь

истóрия.

I have history now.

В кино́ идёт

румы́нский фíльм.

There's a Rumanian film showing at the movies.

У тебе́

мо́й портфéль?

Do you have my portfolio?

Заходíте

вý.

You come in.

In inverted order within the predicate, the complements usually precede the verb. Inverted order occurs primarily in equational sentences (sentences containing the verb *быть* or some other verb indicating equivalence) when the subject is indefinite.

Compare:

Inverted order: На столе нож. There's a knife on the table.  
Direct order: Нож на столе. The knife's on the table.

4) Word order in clauses containing question-words. When a clause contains a question-word (the clause may be either an independent question sentence or a subordinate clause), it is normally initiated by the question-word. If the subject is a pronoun, these clauses have direct order:

(a) Question-word is part of predicate

<i>Question-word</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
Куда	вы	<u>éдет</u> ?	Where are you going?
Что	вы	<u>дёлали</u> всё утром?	What have you been doing all morning?

(b) Question-word is subject

<i>Question-word (= Subject)</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
Кто	егó <u>ви́дел</u> ?	Who saw him?
Кто	недáвно <u>болéл</u> ?	Who was sick not long ago?
Что	<u>было</u> в корóбке?	What was in the box?
Кто	у вás учýтель?	Who is your teacher?

(c) If the subject is a noun, particularly a long one, we are likely to have transposition of verb and subject.

<i>Question-word</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Rest of predicate</i>	
Как	прошёл	урóк	сегóдня?	How did the lesson go today?
Где	былá	моя кни́га?		Where was my book?

(d) In a question containing **ли**, the word to which **ли** is appended (usually the verb) functions as a question-word and hence takes initial position.

<i>Word with <u>ли</u></i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Rest of predicate</i>
Рабóтает ли	óн	на фáбrike? Does he work at the factory?

(e) For purposes of emphasis, elements of the clause may be shifted to a position before the question-word.

A вý кудá?  
A э́то ч́то?

And where are *you* going?  
And this—what is it?

(5) Introducers. Certain conjunctions (**а**, **и**, **но**, **если**, **что**) serve as clause introducers and precede all other elements of the clause, so that the clause order consists of introducer plus the remainder of the clause in its appropriate order (direct, inverted, etc.).

Examples:

*Direct order*

A	вý спрáшивали в ма- газíне на углú?	And you asked at the store on the corner?
Но	мы ожидаем много успéхов.	But we expect a lot of success.
И	отлично игрáл.	And he played excellently.
А	тепéрь вý здорóвы?	And you're all right now?
Но	ты кудá-то собираéшься идти?	But are you planning to go somewhere?
A	вý тóже рабóтаете на завóде?	And do you work at the plant too?

*Inverted order*

Но	на э́тот раз бýдет фильм.	But this time there will be a film.
Но	мнé все такí нужна новая машинка.	But I need a new typewriter anyhow.
А	новую картину смотрéл?	And did you see the new picture?

*Question-word direct order*

A	гдé вý достáли матер- иáл?	And where did you get the material?
A	по какíм днýм онá рабóтает утром?	And on what days does she work in the morning?

*Question-word inverted order*

Hó | kák прошёл уrók?

But how did the lesson go?

## 3.7 EXCURSUS ON GOVERNMENT BY PREPOSITIONS

A prepositional phrase (PN) is headed by a preposition, which in turn is accompanied by a noun phrase. Each preposition requires that the accompanying noun phrase be in a specific case or cases. This case requirement is called government. Examples illustrating government of the principal prepositions follow:

- 1) Genitive (the largest number of prepositions governs the genitive):

без(о)	without
вóзле	beside, next to
до	to, up to, ( <i>literally</i> , up to, but not into)
от(о)	from, away from ( <i>literally</i> , from a point or from the exterior of an object or enclosure)
у	at, near, by, at a person's (cf. Fr. <i>chez</i> )
из(о)	out of, out from
из-за	from behind, because of
для	for
вне	outside of
крóмē	except
прóтив	against, opposite
сверх	above, over
вмéсто	instead of
ради	for the sake of, because of

Many adverbs, adverbial expressions, and petrified prepositional phrases may also be used governing the genitive case:

внутрí	inside
óколо	around (near)
вокrúг, кругóм	around
вдóль	along
позадí	behind
насчёт	about

- 2) Genitive, Accusative, and Instrumental:

c(o)	with genitive	off of, (down) from
	with accusative (rarely)	about (in time or size)
	with instrumental	with

3) Dative

к	toward, to (to a point or to a location right by an object or enclosure; or to a person)
вопреки	in spite of, against

4) Dative, Accusative, and Prepositional:

по	with dative	on, over, according to
	with accusative	up to, (with numbers)
		apiece, each
	with prepositional	after

5) Accusative:

про	about, concerning
сквозь	through
через	over, across, through, via

6) Accusative and Instrumental:

	<i>with accusative (goal)</i>	<i>with instrumental (location)</i>
за	to behind, for	behind, for
под(о)	to under	under

7) Accusative and Prepositional:

	<i>with accusative (goal)</i>	<i>with prepositional (location)</i>
в(о)	into, to	in, at
на	onto, to	on, at
о, об(о)	against, on	about

8) Instrumental:

над(о)	above
перед(о)	in front of
между	between, among
при	near, at

Note that (о) after a preposition indicates that that preposition has a variant with final *o* which occurs before items beginning with certain consonant clusters.

NOTES

1. Note that structurally an N consisting of noun plus A, D, PN, N<sub>gen.</sub> or N in apposition as modifiers is usually a transform of an equational sentence (see 3.2.2.1) in which the noun is subject and the modifier complement. Thus:

свободные стулья ← Стулья свободные.  
free chairs      The chairs are free.

собра́ние вчера́ вечером ← Собра́ние бы́ло вчера́ вечером.  
 the meeting last night      The meeting was last night.

музéй в Москвé ← Музéй в Москвé.  
 the museum in Moscow      The museum is in Moscow.

дóм на́шего отца́ ← (Этот) дóм на́шего отца́.  
 our father's house      This house is our father's.

студéнтика забчница ← (Эта) студéнтика забчница.  
 correspondence student      This student is a correspondence student.

With other modifiers the transformational history is more complex. When the modifier is  $N_{inst}$ , the head is usually a nominalization of a verb and the modifier an instrumental of means.

поéзда автомобíлем ← Поéхали автомобíлем.  
 the car ride      (We) travelled by car.

When the modifier is a subordinate clause, it is usually a transform of a sentence in which the head occupied the function of the relative word in the clause.

мéсто, где они́ живут ← Они́ живут в мéсте.  
 the place where they live      They live in the place.

человéк, о котóром мы́ говорíли ← Мы́ говорíли о человéке.  
 the man of whom we spoke      We spoke about the man.

2. The presence of the reflexive particle ся excludes a direct object.

3. The following conditions appear to favor occurrences of  $N_{acc}$ , rather than  $N_{gen}$  as the direct object of a negated verb:

- (a) if the N head is a singular жená-type noun
- (b) if the verb is imperative
- (c) if the verb is perfective
- (d) if the object precedes the verb
- (e) if the verb is любить

If more than one of these conditions are met, the probability of accusative rather than genitive is correspondingly greater. Cf. T. F. Magnier, "Negation and Case Selection in Russian," *Word* 11:531-41 (1955).

Я́ Пры дави́о пе видáл!      I haven't seen Irene for a long time!

4. Stated in a more structural way, when we have pairs of sentences following the patterns V  $N_{acc}$ : V  $N_{gen}$ , we may assume that the second sentence of the pair is the product of a transformation which zeroed some quantifier (such as немнóго, пé- сколько, etc., or expression of measure). The next examples then result from:

Я́ куплю́ (пéсколько) ма́рок и конвéр-  
 тов.      I will buy (several) stamps and  
 envelopes.  
 Да́йте мнé (немнóго) винá.      Give me (some) wine.

5. The fact which structurally establishes that these N are modifiers, not objects, is that they occur with verbs which do not otherwise take objects in these cases, e.g.,  $N_{acc}$  with reflexive or intransitive verbs.

6. The structural distinction between  $N_{inst}$  as object, agent, and means is as follows:

(a) The instrumental object becomes subject when the sentence is transformed from active to passive:

Дирéктор руковóдит фáбрикой.	The director directs the factory.
Фáбрика руковóдится дирéктором.	The factory is directed by the director.

(b) The instrumental of means remains unchanged when a passive transformation is effected:

Рыбы лóвятся ўдóчкой.  
Письмо пишется карандашом.

Fish are caught with a fishing rod.  
The letter is written with a pencil.

(e) The instrumental of agent appears only in passive or reflexive sentences and becomes subject when the sentence is transformed to an active or non-reflexive one.

Ученикí пишут сочинéния.  
Снéг покрыл лóм.

The students are writing compositions.  
The snow covered the house.

7. Forms such as хóлодно and жáрко in the example sentences are established as D rather than, say, as neuter short form adjectives by the fact that in a few cases where the adverb differs in stress from the corresponding neuter short adjective, the form with adverb stress appears in the impersonal sentence. Compare adj. свéтло 'bright', adv. светлó 'bright(ly)', and the sentences: Ужé светлó. 'It's light already.', Мне светлó. 'It's light enough for me.'

8. However, alternative questions not infrequently show inverted rather than direct word order (see 3.6). Statements regarding intonation contours are not exhaustive and may be supplemented by reading R. L. Leed, "A Contrastive Analysis of Russian and English Intonation Contours," *SEEJ* 9:62-75 (1965) or E. A. Bryzgunova, *Практическая фонетика и интонация русского языка*, part III, Moscow: University, 1963.

9. Stated structurally, when the noun phrase is in the nominative or accusative case, the numeral functions as head of the noun phrase, accompanied by  $N_{gen}$  as attribute; when the phrase is in some other case, the numeral is the attribute and the accompanying noun, the head. The numeral as attribute, which agrees casewise with its head like the adjective, normally precedes its head, as does the adjective. The foregoing applies of course also to collective numerals (3.5.2).